

# The Leader.

"The one idea which history exhibits as evermore developing itself into greater distinctness is the idea of Humanity—the noble endeavour to throw down all the barriers erected between men by prejudice and one-sided views; and by setting aside the distinctions of Religion, Country, and Colour, to treat the whole Human race as one brotherhood, having one great object—the free development of our spiritual nature."—HUMBOLDT'S COSMOS.

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## News of the Week.

PARLIAMENT has met, and the Session has begun; but the assembled wisdom of the country has not thrown much new light on the more urgent questions of the hour. Of course, nobody expected to learn anything from the Royal Speech, and therefore not much disappointment is felt at being told that the country is prosperous, that the agricultural interest is in difficulty, that the Queen will resist encroachment by any foreign power, and so forth. Even surveying the whole round of speeches by Ministers, Anti-Ministers, and representatives of various parties, you can make out nothing at all determinate. Lord John Russell introduces a measure "to prevent the assumption of certain ecclesiastical titles in respect of places in the United Kingdom;" thus limiting his boasted resistance to a restraint upon verbal aggression. Paltry as the measure must be, it will not be carried without vexation, and, if carried, it cannot work. Some, like Lord Stanley and Mr. Disraeli, call upon Ministers for a truly effectual measure, and throw out sneering presumptions that the Ministerial measure must be so. Others, like Lord Camoys, support resistance against the Papal Aggression, but declare that they will not permit the smallest reaction in the persecuting way. Ministers are committed to something worse than making bricks without straw—they are forced to the task of cutting off the pound of flesh, but warned that they must not spill a drop of blood.

Ministers are threatened with something in reference to the agricultural distress; which they admit, without attempting its cure. The Duke of Richmond and Lord Winchelsea talked about Protection; but it is manifest that the leaders of the Opposition, Stanley and Disraeli, contemplate nothing so impracticable. What they do intend, does not yet appear; but Mr. Disraeli intimates, that if he does not succeed in carrying his measure this time, he shall drop the subject altogether. This is mainly intended as a threat to his own party. It has been noted that both Stanley and Disraeli were felicitous but measured in their language, like men reserving their strength, and looking forward to a real struggle.

The third great section of the speech relates to foreign policy, and this does disclose something. The tone, speaking with pleasure of the approaching settlement in Germany and in Schleswig-Holstein, implies that Lord Palmerston scarcely affects to maintain relations any longer with the Liberalism of Europe, and has perfectly given himself up to the Russo-Austrian influence. Not a word is said about the shameful invasion of state independence and constitutional law in Hesse-Cassel; not a word about the possession taken of Hamburg by the Austrian troops. It is true that the soldiery were

sprigs of green in their hats to signify amity, and that their toll was paid across the ferry. Austria has taken possession politely, but has not the less taken possession. Mr. Cobden recently proclaimed Lord Palmerston to be not the ally of Liberalism; but the Viscount has now thrown off the mask: England is committed to a complete sanction of the Russo-Austrian policy.

The ministerial declarations do not materially affect the inferences to be drawn from the Royal speech—the Anti-papal measure is to be a minimum measure; the agricultural distress is admitted, but is left for cure to the chapter of accidents; the foreign policy of England is an Austrian policy. The speech discloses nothing further worth attention: the law reforms, vaguely described, seem to be only mentioned in case Ministers should choose to take advantage of the door thus kept open; the only positive measure distinctly announced, is one to register deeds of transfer and other instruments relating to property.

The attempt made by Lord John Russell to place new restrictions on the freedom of the House of Commons to address the Crown may be considered to have failed; though we would not have Members relax their vigilance in the matter; since Ministers are quite capable of resorting to that surprise which they so much deprecate as against themselves. But the manner in which they were rebuffed, Lord John's tame submission under Mr. Disraeli's quiet, but cutting, sarcasm, and the discomfited bearing of the Premier, indicate a very low state of the Ministerial health—a conscious debility the most painful.

The great deputation of aggregated metropolitan parishes on repeal of the Window Tax invaded the Exchequer on Thursday, and saw the Chancellor thereof; but the most formidable array of metropolitan members and parish beadles could not frighten Sir Charles Wood into any pledge: he is to disclose on Friday next. He was told that the tax bore unjustly upon the poor, sparing the rich; but he must have comforted himself with the thought, that most of the profitable imposts do that. However, on this one, at present, he looks as if he were going to yield.

Generally, it is seen that the session will be as much a nullity as Ministers can make it; and the leading men of other parties have not the will or the courage to supersede the official incapables. A magnificent opportunity invites political activity; a thoroughly national policy would come before a public in a mood to do something, yet not knowing very well what to do, and as yet nobody advances with a practical suggestion. Experienced politicians are giving excellent advice: expatiating among his old Stockport constituents, Mr. Cobden censures the disposition of Parliament, "to embark on an interminable topic which politicians ought never to discuss at all,"—the Catholic question; and Mr. Hume inaugurates a series of lectures supplied

by the National Reform Association at the London Tavern for the instruction of the public in political questions; but Mr. Hume has not yet got much beyond the liberalism of the Reform Bill era—now rather out of date. The Financial Reformers persist in taking up a position behind the People, whom they might lead if they would only walk to the front; they persist in leaving the post of leader vacant.

The convocation of the clergy, this season, has been most emphatically marked by the Archbishop of Canterbury as a solemn farce. Both Houses of the Convocation had received a petition, praying that the powers of the convocation should be restored, in order to the correction and better ordering of Church observances. If such a process were conducted by a man liberal and practical in his disposition, something like uniformity and stability might be introduced, leaving disorder only to extreme enthusiasts. But Archbishop Sumner evidently feels himself unequal to such an office: after opening the convocation, and pretending to commence business, he suddenly breaks it up again by an adjournment till the summer.

While Ministers are trying to evade the difficulty of dealing with the Papal Aggression, they are courting difficulties in Ireland. They must anger the Roman Catholics: the refusal to receive a petition from the Orangemen offensively violates precedent, and must anger the Protestants. The issue of a commission to inquire into Dublin University, as well as Oxford and Cambridge, is a proper measure in itself, but probably could not have been made at a more unlucky time. Ministers are leaving no stone unturned where they may uncover a scorpion.

The foreign news is not of striking importance. The French Assembly has quieted down after its contest with the President, and the President has made bold to ask it for a little more cash—an addition to his own salary of about £70,000. The Assembly seems in no mood to grant it. The contest between the two coördinate powers has taken the meanest shape which it could possibly assume.

Undue importance has been attached to the ebullition in Switzerland. Excepting in the letter, it is totally unconnected with the Democratic movement. In Berne, the Conservative party has recently come to power, and has signalized its return by severe efforts to expel certain Republicans who had taken refuge there; the friends of a particular fugitive were angry, and they resisted; but the Government has carried its point; and there the matter ends.

The Viennese accounts report a sudden severity of arrests in the Austrian capital, especially among students and officers. Yes, and such scenes are likely to continue; for opinions inimical to Absolutist government are spreading even among the supporters of such governments.

The Indian mail is seasoned with a stinging letter from Sir Charles Napier, calling upon the subalterns of the Indian armies to pay their debts: no man libels the Indian armies with so much gusto as the departing Commander-in-Chief.

The law has half satisfied justice in the Sloane case, which illustrates the Chinese practice of our law-men, to seek their object by a circum-bendibus. Instead of setting forth the case according to the facts, the lawyers tried to set it forth according to the precedents: a previous case had failed because the lawyers omitted to put into the indictment the words, "tender years;" so they were put into this indictment to eke out the charge of withholding food, without regard to the fact that Jane Wilbred was no longer a child. The law will not recognise the voluntary submission of an adult to the process of starving. This part of the case failed; but the two prisoners pleaded guilty to the "counts" charging them with assault, and they were sentenced to two years' imprisonment.

#### PARLIAMENT OF THE WEEK.

The opening of Parliament took place on Tuesday with the usual ceremony. The day was beautiful, and the concourse of persons attracted to St. James's and Whitehall was very large. Soon after twelve o'clock the House of Lords began to fill with ladies, who kept crowding in up to two o'clock, by which time nearly a thousand were said to be present. Just as the hour struck the boom of cannon announced that the Queen had entered the Royal Palace of Westminster. In a few minutes later her Majesty, led by Prince Albert, and attended by her great officers of state, entered the House, and took her seat upon the throne. Having commanded the attendance of her "faithful Commons," and that disorderly crowd having presented themselves in their usual tumultuous manner, the Queen read the royal speech, of which the following is a copy:—

#### THE QUEEN'S SPEECH.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"It is with great satisfaction that I again meet my Parliament, and resort to your advice and assistance in the consideration of measures which affect the welfare of our country.

"I continue to maintain the relations of peace and amity with Foreign Powers. It has been my endeavour to induce the States of Germany to carry into full effect the provisions of the treaty with Denmark, which was concluded at Berlin in the month of July of last year. I am much gratified at being able to inform you that the German Confederation and the Government of Denmark are now engaged in fulfilling the stipulations of that Treaty, and thereby putting an end to hostilities which at one time appeared full of danger to the peace of Europe.

"I trust that the affairs of Germany may be arranged by mutual agreement, in such a manner as to preserve the strength of the Confederation and to maintain the freedom of its separate States.

"I have concluded with the King of Sardinia articles additional to the treaty of September, 1841, and I have directed that those articles shall be laid before you.

"The Government of Brazil has taken new, and I hope efficient, measures for the suppression of the atrocious traffic in slaves.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"I have directed the Estimates of the year to be prepared and laid before you without delay. They have been framed with a due regard to economy, and to the necessities of the Public Service.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"Notwithstanding the large reductions of taxation which have been effected in late years the receipts of the Revenue have been satisfactory.

"The state of the commerce and manufactures of the United Kingdom has been such as to afford general employment to the labouring classes.

"I have to lament, however, the difficulties which are still felt by that important body among my people who are owners and occupiers of land.

"But it is my confident hope that the prosperous condition of other classes of my subjects will have a favourable effect in diminishing those difficulties, and promoting the interests of agriculture.

"The recent assumption of certain Ecclesiastical titles conferred by a foreign Power has excited strong feelings in this country, and large bodies of my subjects have presented addresses to me, expressing attachment to the Throne, and praying that such assumptions should be resisted. I have assured them of my resolution to maintain the rights of my Crown, and the independence of the nation, against all encroachment, from whatever quarter it may proceed. I have, at the same time, expressed my earnest desire and firm determination, under God's blessing, to maintain unimpaired the Religious Liberty which is so justly prized by the people of this country.

"It will be for you to consider the measure which will be laid before you on this subject.

"The administration of justice in the several departments of law and equity will, no doubt, receive the serious attention of Parliament; and I feel confident that the measures which may be submitted, with a view of improving that administration, will be discussed with that mature deliberation which important changes in the highest courts of judicature in the kingdom imperatively demand.

"A measure will be laid before you providing for the establishment of a system of Registration of Deeds and Instruments relating to the Transfer of Property. This measure is the result of inquiries which I have caused to be made into the practicability of adopting a system of Registration calculated to give security to Titles, and to diminish the causes of Litigation to which they have hitherto been liable, and to reduce the cost of Transfers.

"To combine the progress of improvement with the stability of our institutions will, I am confident, be your constant care. We may esteem ourselves fortunate that we can pursue, without disturbance, the course of calm and peaceable amelioration; and we have every cause to be thankful to Almighty God for the measure of tranquillity and happiness which has been vouchsafed to us."

The address in the House of Lords was moved by the Earl of Effingham, and seconded by Lord Cremorne; in the House of Commons, by the Marquis of Kildare, seconded by Mr. Peto. All the four speeches were full of congratulations on "the healthy state of trade," "the prosperous condition of the finances," "the general employment of the people," and the "increased consumption of taxed commodities," as evincing a more comfortable state of things among the mass of the people. Lord CREMORNE said that, "whether regarded in a national, commercial, or social point of view, there could be no doubt that the nation never appeared in a more flourishing condition." The Earl of EFFINGHAM did not go quite so far, but as it appeared that the value of our exports in 1849 was ten millions more than that of 1848, and as last year showed a considerable increase of 1849, "this he thought might be taken as a general indication that the whole of the population dependent upon manufactures was in a state of remunerative employment. In Yorkshire trade was never better, nor more sound and prosperous than it was now." Mr. PETO gave an elaborate picture of our general prosperity. He showed, from the Board of Trade returns, that our exports for the first eleven months of 1848 were £44,407,912; 1849, £54,089,809; 1850, £60,400,525, and that the increase consisted principally of British manufactures—cottons, wools, linens, silks, and hardwares. The number of hands employed in factories last year was 50,000 more than was employed in 1847. Had cotton been as cheap as it was then the additional number of hands would have been three times 50,000. It was gratifying also to note the fact that this increase of persons employed in factories did not consist of children. Since 1834 there has been a decrease of 20 per cent. in the number of children employed in factories, and an increase of 81 per cent. in the number of adults. Our shipping trade also, he contended, was in a highly flourishing state. Ship-building on the Clyde, the Tyne, the Mersey, and Thames is fully equal in activity to any former period. And, as regards the condition of the masses, he adduced the fact that the number of cattle slaughtered in Great Britain, last year, was 60,000 more than in the previous year.

As regards Ireland, Lord CREMORNE, speaking from personal observation and experience, said there was ground for congratulation. The Encumbered Estates Bill had worked exceedingly well, and effected a great improvement in the condition of the people. So much pleased had he been with its results that, were a similar measure proposed for England, he would give it his warmest support. Mr. PETO also spoke of the cheering prospects of progress in Ireland, and affirmed that her comparative advance in industrial pursuits in the last sixteen years had been much greater than that of either England or Scotland.

The nature of the intended Ministerial measure against the Papal aggression was not indicated by any of the speakers. All of them condemned "the attempt on the part of Rome to interfere with our domestic concerns," and expressed their belief that a legislative enactment to repel the aggression is necessary. As to the proposed changes in the courts of equity and law, and the registration of deeds relating to real property, as mentioned in the royal speech, the various speakers alluded to the subject in a very guarded manner, as if they did not know very well what to say.

Lord STANLEY, as leader of Opposition in the House of Lords, said he was not satisfied with the speech, but he would not move any amendment to the address. They were told that all classes were in a prosperous state, except the landed interest, and yet, although there was a large surplus applicable to the reduction of taxation, there was no indication on the part of Government that any relief would be afforded to the agricultural interest. It was absurd to speak of the distress as only temporary. There would be no

permanent increase of prices under the present system, and unless there was an improvement the country could not bear the present load of taxation. He could not agree with Lord Cremorne in the satisfaction he expressed with the working of the Encumbered Estates Bill:—

"The act may have worked satisfactorily to some parties, but it really has operated most cruelly in many cases. It has performed, and is performing, and will continue to perform that operation which the noble lord treats with indifference, or, rather, which he considers desirable. It has substituted a new set of proprietors for the ancient proprietors. (Hear, hear.) This might have been desirable in some cases where the proprietors were merely nominal proprietors, and in those instances I have no doubt the transfer has been beneficial; but as a general rule it is not desirable for the social interest of the country—it is not an object to be aimed at, to break up the old connection between landlord and tenant, and substitute a new class of proprietors for those who have occupied and owned the land for years and centuries. (Cheers.) I am desirous to maintain, if it be possible—I am desirous, at all events, of doing nothing to accelerate the fall of the ancient landed proprietors of the country. (Cheers.) I believe the tie which binds them to the soil is one of the greatest securities for the stability of our institutions, and for the general contentment and happiness of the country."

He warned Ministers as to the course they ought to take on the Papal aggression question. They must not shut their eyes to the gravity of the question. Unless they had made up their minds to deal boldly with it they ought never to have meddled with it at all.

Lord Stanley was followed by the Duke of Richmond, who grumbled in a very feeble ineffectual tone about the evils of free trade, and asked Government to restore protection. The Earl of WINCHELSEA, who viewed all other questions as "sinking into nothingness," found fault with the speech for not speaking out on the Catholic question. Lord CAMOYS, although he was a Roman Catholic, disapproved of Lord John Russell's letter to the Bishop of Durham, on account of its injudicious tone, and declared his intentions to support a measure to maintain the supremacy of the Crown.

In the House of Commons Mr. ROEBUCK condemned the course which Ministers proposed to take on the Roman Catholic question, as the first backward step towards the reversal of an obsolete intolerance. It was a mistake to complain of Papal aggression as something new. It began long ago, and with the full sanction of the Premier. After permitting the universal recognition of the territorial titles of the Irish Catholic hierarchy, it was perfectly ridiculous to make so great an outcry about what had been recently done in England.

Mr. CHISHOLM ANSTREY, as a member of the Church, though not of the Court, of Rome, saw nothing in the proposed measure savouring of persecution. Mr. PLUMPTRE was afraid that the measure would not be strong enough to satisfy the Protestants of England. The Earl of ARUNDEL and Mr. FAIR expressed their determination to oppose any measure of an intolerant nature. Mr. HUME glanced briefly at the Anti-Papal agitation as resting upon delusive grounds, and then condemned the royal speech for its sins of omission. Not a word was said about financial, parliamentary, or colonial reform.

Colonel SIBTHORP, Mr. GRANTLEY BERKELEY, and Mr. BANKES all complained of the Ministerial coolness to agricultural distress. Colonel Sibthorp expressed a fervent hope that a rattling hailstorm would smash the crystal palace, and disappoint the mob of pickpockets who hope to make a harvest by it.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL characterized the present condition of the landowners and farmers as a transition one—a transition from a rigorous monopoly to absolute Free Trade—unbroken by any such stepping-stone as the moderate fixed duty which he had at one time proposed, and the temporary, but only the temporary, enactment of which would possibly have rendered the present period a less severe one. Of the moral justice, however, as well as the political expediency of absolute Free Trade, he saw nothing to shake the conviction which he had long entertained, however partially painful as in some respects might be the process of carrying the system into effect. He could hold out no prospect of the imposition of a fixed duty of 5s., and he rejoiced that such was the case, for seldom or never had the working classes been in the receipt of better wages, or more plentiful, and therefore cheaper, food, than they were now enjoying. How then, he asked, could any Government propose to the bulk of the people to go back to scarcity and dearth? On the subject of Papal aggression he expressed his belief that the Court of Rome had always been on the watch for opportunities of temporal as well as spiritual aggression, but he was happy to believe that English Roman Catholics generally disapproved of the policy of Rome, and he thus hoped that what steps should seem necessary in the matter would be taken with their consent, as well as that of their Protestant fellow-subjects. He would propose no measure incompatible with the religious liberties of the people, and he believed that the action of Parliament would





be amply sufficient to meet the present emergency. As for the expressions which he had applied to certain scandalous ceremonies, he had referred by these to the practices of a party in his own Church, and to that party only, and he would never be prevented from giving utterance to reflections of the kind by the members of other churches taking them to themselves. As for the Government measure, it would apply to the entire United Kingdom; and he trusted that it would thoroughly check the proceedings of that faction at the Court of Rome, the moving principle of which—and he spoke on the authority of the Earl of Shrewsbury—was hostility to the interests of England. He would propose no compromise, and would bate no jot of what was justly due to the liberties, civil and religious, of the people.

Mr. DISRAELI followed the Premier in a speech characterized by much more reserve than he usually displays. He applied himself to the depressed condition of agriculture—a condition, the long continuance of which was at length astonishing even the Ministry. The landed interest was in fact furnishing the capital in which all other classes were thriving. Last year, Government grudgingly acknowledged agricultural complaints. This year, agricultural distress was announced. Next year, as this was an age of progress, agricultural ruin would probably be trumpeted. But what was the use of these acknowledgments of a great interest in difficulty, if no attempt was ever made to ascertain, and then to grapple with the cause? All that the Ministry said was, that they "hoped" the depression would pass over; using, in fact, the language of "amiable despair." He complained that artificial protection had been swept away, while artificial burdens had been left; and on a future occasion, he pledged himself to point out the natural remedies which justice demanded, and which policy sanctioned. With respect to the Papal aggression, he took Lord John Russell's letter to be the manifesto of a Cabinet, and he believed that when that letter was written, much more was contemplated than the mere preventing the assumption by Cardinal Wiseman of a territorial title. That the aggression was "insidious," he did not agree with; on the contrary, the Pope had only frankly done what the noble lord had said there was no harm in doing, and what had long ago been done in Ireland with the noble lord's full consent. Unless, then, the Premier was prepared to attempt the solution of the great problem of the reconciliation of the claims to allegiance of the English Throne with the demands of obedience made from the Papal chair—unless he was prepared to undertake this great task, he would have done much better in leaving the whole matter alone.

**MIDNIGHT LEGISLATION.**—Two attempts were made on Wednesday to introduce a more rational system into the mode of managing the business of the session, but they were both alike ineffectual. Mr. HUME moved that no money vote should be taken after midnight. The motion was opposed by Sir CHARLES WOOD and Sir GEORGE GREY, and rejected by a majority of 116 to 47. Mr. BROTHERTON then brought forward his annual motion for adjourning the House at midnight, whatever question might be under discussion. 108 members voted against, and only 32 in favour of it.

**THE LATE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.**—A resolution acknowledging the services of Mr. Ley, the late clerk to the House, was moved by Lord JOHN RUSSELL, on Wednesday. He prefaced the motion by a graceful tribute to the exemplary manner in which that gentleman had discharged the duties of his office during the long period of 49 years. Mr. HUME complained of the manner in which the vacancy had been filled up by the nomination of a gentleman (Sir Dennis Le Marchant) who could know nothing of the duties of the office.

**HUNGARIAN REFUGEES.**—In reply to Mr. Hume, Lord PALMERSTON stated, on Wednesday, that efforts had been made by Government to obtain the release of the Hungarians confined in Turkey, but hitherto without success. Between 300 and 400 were lately residing at Shumla, some of whom have recently been sent to Constantinople, but whether for the purpose of being set at liberty or confined elsewhere he was unable to say.

**NEW WRITS.**—Writs have been issued for Windsor, and the Falkirk district of burghs.

**RESIGNATION OF LORD SHAFTESBURY.**—Lord Shaftesbury's resignation of the Chairmanship of Committees on account of old age, was accepted on Tuesday evening, and Lord Redesdale was appointed in his stead.

**THE EARL OF MINTO AND THE POPE.**—Lord Minto gave a pointed contradiction, on Thursday, to the report that the Pope had consulted him with reference to the establishment of a Catholic hierarchy in England. There was no foundation whatever for the rumour. In the various conversations he had had with the Pope and with the Cardinal Secretary of State, no allusion had ever been made at any time to any design of organizing a Roman Catholic hierarchy in this country, nor had it ever been even hinted that any such measure was in contemplation.

#### NOTICES OF MOTION.

- February 11.—Agricultural Distress..... Mr. Disraeli.
- 11.—Repeal of the Malt Tax..... Mr. Cayley.
- 13.—Window-Tax Abolition..... Lord Dunearn.
- 18.—Reproductive Pauper Labour, Mr. F. Scrope.

#### PARLIAMENTARY AND FINANCIAL REFORM.

The first of a series of monthly soirées, under the auspices of the National Reform Association, was held at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate-street, on Monday, when a lecture on Parliamentary and financial reform was delivered by Mr. Hume, M.P. The large room was crowded to the door, a considerable proportion of the company being composed of the fair sex. Tea was served up in an adjoining apartment, and at seven o'clock the more important business of the evening was commenced by a glee party singing the "People's Anthem."

Mr. Hume commenced by alluding to the apathy displayed by the wealthier portion of the middle class, who seem content with what they have obtained, without any regard for the classes beneath them. In order to stir up the people, it was necessary to show them that Parliamentary reform would do them good. At present, of the male population above twenty, only one in six has a vote. This was not fair. The working classes might complain much about it just now, because they were not suffering so much as they had done at some former periods. But it was much better to grant reform in quiet times, than to wait for a period of distress when the demand for Parliamentary Reform might be accompanied by other demands of a much more alarming nature.

As a picture of the House of Commons elected by the ten pound voters, he quoted the following passage from the *Daily News* of Monday:—

"One-half of the members of the House of Commons are to this day as essentially nominees as any that sat in the old close-borough and proprietary-borough Parliaments; and the whole class of intelligent, skilled artisans may be considered as virtually excluded from any voice in the election of the remainder. Nor is this all; the existing electoral qualification and system of electoral registration have enabled clubbed and affiliated partisans to pack even pretty numerous constituencies with factitious majorities. The voice of real public opinion is scarcely heard in the House of Commons; it has not even the semblance of influence over the votes that are there given. The House of Commons is packed and managed by knots of speculating politicians; by the holders of a bank at political *rouge et noir*, and the punters who are trying to break it. The House of Commons is as well entitled to be made an object of the paternal solicitude and watchfulness of the police as any hell in Jermyn-street and its vicinity."

There was a description of the House of Commons, of the "taxing organ" of this country. How could they expect the affairs of the country to be wisely or honestly managed by such an assembly? He had proposed a measure of parliamentary reform every session, and he would continue to do so till he had accomplished his object:—

"So long as I live and have a seat in Parliament, I will do my best. (Cheers.) I have confidence in the unrepresented people, and I think it my duty to endeavour to obtain power for them. The people will go right rather than wrong, when they have a plain proposition before them. At the same time I will admit that we ought to instruct the people. (Hear.) If we are bound by a poor law to sustain and feed the hungry, the obligation must be as great to instruct the ignorant. (Hear.) Ragged Schools and Sunday Schools are very well in their way, but they are not enough. Ignorance is our greatest enemy. Give me an educated people, and I will defy any demagogue or any individual to mislead them. A neighbouring country—for now we may speak of America as a neighbouring country—has shown us a good example, and so far, I am sorry to say, they have quite outstripped us. Let us improve our 'taxing organ,' and we shall get all we ought to have. Let us have a complete improvement. I am glad of the movement of the Freehold Land Societies. In time they would wrest power from the aristocracy. But that time would be twenty years hence. (Hear, hear.) Now, why are we to wait a single year? Why a single day? (Hear, hear.) We have got rid of all sorts of monopolies. Why not of the monopoly of political power? (Cheers.) Every man is a freetrader except in his own business. (Laughter.) I hate agitation; it is only a means to an end—but the time has come when every rational man must agitate for public justice. This is a Christian country, and a Christian country ought to act on the great Christian precept, which tells us to do unto others as we would be done by. Let those who are anxious, and properly so, to uphold Christianity in this country, act according to that simple rule. We seek no more, and will ask no less."

The meeting was afterwards addressed briefly by Sir James Duke, who proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Hume, which was carried unanimously; by Mr. Houghton, one of the largest tenant-farmers in England, who subscribed £10 to the funds of the association; and who contended that it was impossible for the farmers to grow cheap corn under the heavy taxation which now pressed them down. Mr. Le Blond said they had held 200 meetings last year, and the expenses had been met by the funds of the Association. But he begged to state, that the amount of the subscriptions was contemptibly small. He hoped the ladies would give them all the support in their power, for if they succeeded in the objects they had in view, they would get their tea and sugar, and every other necessary of life, much cheaper than at present.

At a public dinner given to Mr. Kershaw, M.P.

for Stockport, by his constituents, last night week, Mr. Cobden, who was one of the guests, made an excellent speech in defence of the part he has taken in the financial reform movement. That movement began in the autumn of 1847. He had been present at a meeting in Stockport, and happened to drop a remark in reference to the rumour then noised about that France intended to invade England. Out of that had sprung all the controversy which has since been going on, and which has led already to a considerable reduction of our armaments, in spite of all the attempts of the Ministry to keep them as they were with reference to the meeting of Parliament; he said he had never looked forward to a session with so much distaste as to the present. They were going to embark in the discussion of an interminable topic which Parliament had no right to meddle with. Thanks to the free trade agitation; they had taken away all discussion on trade questions from Parliament. What a blessing it would be if they could only do the same with all questions of religion! Let them search the world through and they would find that in proportion as a country was free and tolerant in its religion, was its progress in civil and commercial freedom:—

"Go to Spain or Naples; two most intolerant Catholic governments, under which you can't have a Protestant place of worship. Well, but they are the countries of all others the most destitute of anything like civil or constitutional freedom. A military adventurer, a clever unscrupulous woman, may dispose of Spain; ay, in a way that a parish would not be disposed of by a man of genius in this country. I remember when I was in Madrid being introduced to some leading Progressist deputies there, and I told them of my astonishment at finding that in their constitution the Catholic religion was made the only religion to be tolerated, and that no Protestant place of worship was allowed to be put up, even in Cadiz, or Seville, or Malaga, for the use of British or other Protestant societies; and I exhorted them, 'Before you can commence your crusade of civil liberty you must alter that, you must establish religious freedom.' (Hear.) I said, 'If you look back to England you will see that in proportion as it had religious toleration it progressed in constitutional freedom. Look at Holland, it was the same there; look at America, it was the same there; and, if you would have freedom in Spain you must begin by establishing toleration of religious doctrine.' And what was the answer? Why, they said, 'that would not satisfy us at all; for there is such an amount of bigotry in this country, the fires of the Inquisition are still smouldering in the breasts of the mass of our ignorant population, that any party that hoisted the flag of religious freedom and toleration to Protestantism would be scouted from the face of the land.' 'Ay,' I said, 'I understand you; the question of religious liberty would not bring you political capital as a party; but you may depend upon this—so long as you live in a country where religious intolerance is the rule, as it is here, it is all mere phantasy to suppose you can ever possess, or deserve to possess, civil or constitutional freedom.' Now, I say the same in an infinitely smaller degree, of my own countrymen. If they have the latent bigotry in their hearts so much that they are not willing to allow to Roman Catholics in this country perfect religious equality and the management of their own affairs, depend upon it they are not safe in any of the liberties they have, whether civil or commercial; and I will never for a passing popularity disguise my sentiments upon the subject; and I hope that public men, claiming to be Liberals, will be found undimly at their duty when these questions are brought before the House of Commons. (Loud cheers.)"

A soirée of the members and friends of the Rochdale Freehold Land Society was held at the Public-hall, Rochdale, last night week, to celebrate the purchasing of an estate by the society, comprising about twenty-eight acres, which will cost about £11,000, and is capable of being divided into 500 allotments. The chief speakers were Mr. John Bright, M.P., Mr. Henry, M.P., Mr. Jacob Bright, Mr. Charles Walker, and Mr. T. Livesey:—

Mr. John Bright expressed his opinion that such societies as these were absolutely necessary to accomplish the object in view—the extension of the political franchise. For centuries past the whole object of our legislation with regard to land had been to keep it in great estates, and, consequently, a few great proprietors had managed to keep the whole of the affairs of the nation in their own hands. The possession of land had been made the key to every kind of political power and influence, and the possessors of land had made all sorts of incomprehensible laws to prevent estates being split into small allotments. Working men ought to become members of these societies both on social and political grounds—on political grounds in order that they might acquire a greater influence in the settlement of national questions than they had hitherto possessed.

#### THE PRESIDENT'S WAGES.

The main question in Paris this week has been the Dotation Bill. The measure was presented to the Assembly, on Monday, by M. Germiny, the Minister of Finances. In stating the chief provisions of the bill, he reminded the Assembly that last year it acknowledged the insufficiency of the sum set aside for the President of Republic as *frais de représentation*, and voted an additional credit of 2,150,000*fr.*; and he added that the permanent charges imposed on the President, by the duties imposed upon him by his

position, made it absolutely necessary for the Government to demand a renewal of the grant to a certain extent. The sum which he would propose to the Assembly to grant was 1,800,000*fr.*, to meet the extra expenses during the year 1851. The difference between the sum demanded for 1850 and that now demanded for 1851 was owing to the fact that in 1850 the expenses of the installation of the President in the palace of the Elysée were included; and, as that expense had not to be repeated, it enabled the Government to make a diminution.

The reception given to the bill was not very encouraging. The Legitimists maintained a frigid silence, while the Republicans indulged in all manner of jokes and sarcasms at the President's expense. When the amount proposed was mentioned, one deputy bawled out amidst general laughter that they ought to consider Louis Napoleon very cheap at so moderate a sum.

Public opinion is very much divided as to the fate of the Dotation Bill. According to one view the bill is likely to pass, because the majority are aware that its rejection would call forth so strong an expression of public sympathy, in the shape of a subscription, probably, as would make him more powerful than ever. On the other hand, it is said that a large party of the Legitimists will join with the Republicans in refusing the grant, whatever may be the result. They say that to give Louis Napoleon more money will only facilitate his projects for the establishment of the empire, and on that ground they say they will stubbornly oppose it.

The statements in some of the journals, of Louis Napoleon having sold half his horses and discharged half his servants, is not true. It is true, however, that reforms are to be made in his expenditure. There will be fewer balls; but no servants will be dismissed until they can obtain other situations, and no reduction will be made in the charitable donations, which amount to a very large sum weekly, unless the Assembly should reject the dotation, and no other honourable means be found to make up the deficit.

#### THE RIGHT OF LABOUR IN FRANCE.

An interesting discussion took place in the Assembly last week on the great question of the rights of labour. It will be remembered that Louis Blanc was able to procure nothing more from the Constituent Assembly than the institution of a commission of inquiry into the condition of agricultural and other industries. A list of twenty-nine questions was addressed to each of the justices of the peace of the 2847 cantons of France; and in each canton a committee, composed of an equal number of workmen and masters, was formed to draw up answers to the questions proposed by the committee of inquiry. More than 2000 cantons sent in their reports. A legislative committee having been appointed to present an analysis of these numerous documents to the Assembly, they reported, by the pen of M. Lefebvre Darulé, that the fruits of this inquiry, pursued throughout the whole territory of the Republic, for the space of three years, are worth nothing; and that the committee has nothing better to propose than to bury the 2000 reports of the cantons in the archives of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. This singularly impotent conclusion called out, on Thursday, from the ranks of the Mountain, a genuine champion of the working classes, himself a son of toil, a mason, named Nadaud, representative for the department of Creuze. He said there were eighteen or twenty millions of workmen in France whose wages were not sufficient for the support of their families; and, in the face of this great fact, they were told that nothing could be done to alleviate their hard lot. To show the misery which weighed on the working class he would ask them to ponder on the statement of M. Blanqui, that out of 21,600 poor children born in Lille not less than 20,700 die before they reach the age of five years. The report of M. Lefebvre Darulé was precisely similar to that of M. Thiers on public assistance, and that of M. Montalembert on Sunday observance. It proved the impotence of the legislative majority to devise the least remedy for the greatest social evils. Such a state of things could not last. If they were to set one half of France to coerce the other half they could not maintain the existing state of things.

"M. Nadaud then reviewed the laws passed by the Legislative Assembly on unwholesome lodgings, relations between masters and workmen, caisses de retraite, and proved that none of them more than scratched the surface of the question. He claimed the principles of freedom of association, which he thought could alone enable workmen to compete with machinery. He quoted a succession of economical writers from the ranks of conservatism, who dwelt upon the social cancer of pauperism and its political danger. He said that the revolution of February had been a social and not a political revolution. He told the occupants of the opposite benches that they were all issued from the tiers état parvenus of the revolution of 1789, who, after leading the people through three successive revolutions, and marching it for personal ambition over all the battle fields of Europe, treated the poor much worse than the nobles they had displaced. He then drew a picture of the evils of competition, which screwed down the work-

man's wages. The cure for pauperism was the increased production and fairer distribution of wealth."

In the debate which followed, M. Vaise, the new Minister of the Interior, flatly contradicted the statistics of M. Blanqui relating to the state of the working population at Lille. As for the statement that, out of 21,600 children born annually, 20,700 die before they reach the age of five years, that related to Manchester and not to Lille.

It turns out, however, that the Minister of the Interior is quite as far wrong as M. Nadaud. M. Leon Faucher, in a letter to the *Débats*, says:—

"It must not be said on the other side of the Channel that we know so little of Great Britain as to speak of it as we should scarcely speak of the Chinese Empire;" and he quotes the following passage from his 'Etudes sur l'Angleterre,' in a visit he made to Manchester in 1843, when misery was very great:—

"There commonly die in the manufacturing districts of England, before the age of 30, as many persons as die before the age of 40 in other districts, without excepting London. Out of 1000 children born at Manchester in the working-class, 570 are carried off before their sixth year; for those who attain the virile age, old age arrives prematurely—a spinner is unable to work at 50. No other town contains proportionally more widows and orphans; and in the 435 cases of widowhood, out of 1600, the husband dies of a malady in the organs of respiration."

#### THE SAILORS' STRIKE.

The South Shields shipwrights struck work on Saturday morning. The Tyne shipwrights are about 1100 in number, and are pretty well known as close unionists. In the fall of last year they met, and without consulting their employers, adopted a code of rules, many of which are said by the master-shipbuilder and shipowner to be most obnoxious in their character, and injurious to the trade of the river. The masters met at Newcastle in November last, and readopted a set of regulations passed by the dockowners in 1842. These regulations came into effect on Saturday, and the strike at South Shields is the result. It is also supposed that if some arrangement is not come to between the masters and the men, the whole of the shipwrights on the Tyne will turn out. The Heate and Trident, war-steamers, sent down by the Admiralty, at the request of the Mayor of Tyne-mouth, in case of a riot amongst the sailors during their strike, are at present lying in Shields harbour; but there is no necessity for their presence as the river is clearing of ships, and the men are receiving the advanced wages as soon as the vessels are laden. A great number of colliers left the Tyne last week. Notwithstanding the antipathy of the seamen to the shipping office, there seems no danger of a repetition of disturbances, which were confined to a small section of the men.

#### MILITARY EXTRAVAGANCE.

Sir Charles Napier, before leaving India, has issued a farewell General Order to the officers of the army, in which he administers some very salutary, but most unpalatable, advice. The main object of his letter is to warn them against running into debt. According to his account a great number of subalterns in India are deeply involved in debt, and Sir Charles points out the chief causes which have led to this wretched state of things. First of all young men get commissions without having learned that "honesty is inseparable from the character of a thoroughbred gentleman." They think that, having escaped from school it is mainly to be dishonourable. "So they cheat the Government by not attending to their duties, and they cheat their tradesmen by not paying their debts. They meet champagne drinking swindlers, who sponge on them and lead them into expence. Thus comes debt—then bankers are at hand to advance money. Thus they become involved past redemption, and soon the habit of being constantly in debt makes them grow callous to the proper feelings of a gentleman." Another cause of debt is the extravagance of messes. Instead of the mess being regulated by the income of the poorest, as it ought to be, it is too often regulated by that of the rich members. The common doctrine is that the commanding officer ought not to interfere with the mess, which should be considered as the private table of the officers. Sir Charles accuses those who talk thus of gross selfishness. "They are overbearing tyrants, who want to set aside the private affairs of officers, and to make those officers who cannot afford such extravagance pay for those persons' selfish enjoyments, which they want to enjoy at other people's expence." Another cause of expence and ruin to the young officers is the accommodation furnished by the banks, which "afford a ready means for the young and foolish to obtain money, but at an enormous interest." Having pointed out the evil and its main sources, he leaves the Commander-in-Chief to provide the remedy.

The papers from India, by the last mail, are filled with accounts of the preparations for an interview between the Governor-General and Gholab Singh, which was to take place at Wuzerabad on the 24th of December. There was to be a grand review of the whole of the British troops on the 27th, to be followed, next day, by a review of the troops in attendance on the Maharajah. The presents prepared by Gholab Singh

for the interview were said to be extremely splendid. It was expected that the Governor-General would be invited by Gholab Singh to return his visit at Kashmir, and that the invitation would be accepted if it had the appearance of being frankly and sincerely proffered. If the invitation be accepted, the visit to Kashmir will be undertaken about the end of March, on the return of the camp from Peshawur.

#### THE AUSTRIANS IN HOLSTEIN.

Letters from Kiel of the 1st instant state that the Holstein Stadtholderate have transferred their ministerial powers to the new provisional government appointed by the German Confederation. The Hamburg papers mention that the Austrian and Prussian commissioners had left for Kiel to arrange the installation of the new government.

The *Kölnen Zeitung* says that Austria and Prussia will place no obstacle in the way of an arrangement of the affairs of Schleswig Holstein on the principles which were hinted at in the King of Denmark's proclamation of the 16th of July, provided that this arrangement does not prejudice the rights of Germany and Holstein. The plan which is traced out in the above-mentioned proclamation proposes an Assembly of the Estates (Notablen) of the Duchies. It has now been decided at Vienna and Berlin that the result of the deliberations of such an Assembly shall be submitted to the approval or condemnation (as the case may be) of the Germanic Confederation, or of those Powers which act for that body.

Four Austrian battalions, with a battery of six pounders, entered Hamburg last week, and were quartered on persons who had agreed to take them for the indemnification offered. The men marched in with the bands playing, and with green twigs stuck in their caps, as a token of friendship.

The fortress of Rendsburg is to be garrisoned by four battalions of Austrian and four battalions of Prussian troops.

#### THE SWISS INSURRECTION.

The insurrection in the canton of Berne has been successfully repressed, but the general belief is that it was but a prelude to a more decided and concentrated opposition on the part of the Bernese Radicals. According to the Paris Correspondent of the *Times*, the refugees, French, Poles, Germans, Italians, &c., who had been sent into the canton of Vaud, have all returned to Geneva and its neighbourhood, where Mazzini for some time past is said to have been actively engaged in the recruiting service of the revolution. The same veracious authority says—

"He has money in abundance; but it is certain that these resources do not proceed, as had been absurdly stated in some of the Paris and Swiss Socialist journals, from the English clergy, 'out of hatred to the Pope,' but rather from rich families in Lombardy and other parts of Italy. Numbers of men—the far greater part refugees—are recruited, receive pay in advance, and are regularly draughted off to England, whence a part of this new expedition will set out. A considerable sum is set apart for the purchase of arms also in England. And these calculations seem to be made as if the certainty existed of completing the preparations for again lighting the flame of civil war over the whole of the Italian peninsula. The expedition, when sufficient in numbers and equipments, will not proceed in the first instance to any part of the Roman territory. Mazzini has evidently no desire for his army to risk an encounter with the French army of occupation. Some part of the Neapolitan territory will probably be the point selected at first. It is calculated that in the first encounter any portion of the Neapolitan troops that may oppose the 'army of liberation' will be worsted; and that is to be considered as a signal for the simultaneous rising of the patriots of Italy. On the other hand, Garibaldi is expected from New York with two vessels full of volunteers, most of whom have served in Mexico. He has given out that he is proceeding to London, but it is believed that his real destination for the present is Tangiers, and from that point, when the opportune moment arrives, he will try to effect a landing in Naples. All these proceedings are perfectly well known to the Austrian Government, as well as the names of those of its Italian subjects who have, either voluntarily or otherwise, contributed to the Mazzini loan; and, if the information received may be trusted, the Austrians are determined to enter and occupy the Swiss territory in the spring, in order to put an end once for all to this state of things."

#### THE BRAZILIAN SLAVE TRADE.

It was stated in the royal speech that the Government of Brazil has taken a new step for the suppression of the slave trade, and the Earl of Effingham, in referring to that part of the speech, said, "all the late accounts from the coast of Africa and Brazil tend to show that a great check has been given to that traffic, both on the coast of Africa and in Brazil." In reference to the same subject, the *New York Tribune*, of January 22, says:—

"The information transmitted to the United States Government by the American Minister at Rio, in regard to the traffic in slaves in Brazil, under the American flag, has been made public. It appears that about 40,000



negroes have been imported into Brazil during the past year, and that the scandalous traffic is still continued to a great extent. A very considerable portion of this trade is carried on in American built vessels, and under the protection of the flag of the country. In spite of every effort made by the American Minister at Rio, the flag of the United States is still used by the illegal traders in human flesh. It has been found impossible to enforce the Brazilian statutes on the subject, the authorities charged with their execution, almost without exception, conniving at the traffic, and silently acquiescing in the violation of the laws they had sworn to support. Although many of the most enlightened statesmen of the empire consider the slave trade as hostile to the interests of the country, a greater number defend it as essential to the prosperity of Brazil, and even contend that the condition of the African is meliorated when he becomes a Brazilian slave. Under these circumstances the influence of the American flag is scarcely felt, except in support of the slave dealer. The evil has become so serious as to demand the intervention of Congress.

"The correspondence on the subject with the American Minister to Brazil has been referred by the Senate to the Committee on Commerce. A resolution was presented by Mr. Clay instructing that committee to inquire into the expediency of adopting more efficient measures to prevent American vessels and seamen from engaging in the African slave trade."

#### PROTESTANTISM AND POPERY.

The two Houses of Convocation met in the Jerusalem Chamber of Westminster Abbey on Wednesday. The Lord Archbishop having taken his seat, and the usual preliminaries having been gone through, the Bishop of Chichester presented a petition from the clergy and laity of the province of Canterbury, setting forth the grievous injuries experienced by the church through the continued suspension of her synodal action, whereby she had been prevented from exercising her proper authority for the maintenance of sound doctrine, the exercise of discipline, and the development of her internal resources, and expressing a hope that by their representations and entreaties her Majesty might be moved to restore to the church the freedom of her synodal action as in ancient time. The petition was read by the registrar, and ordered to lie on the table. In the Lower House a similar petition was received, and an order for recording it was made. The House was about to proceed to other business, when the members were formally summoned to the Upper House, and on being admitted into the chamber the Archbishop of Canterbury directed Mr. Francis Hart Dyke to read a precept proroguing the convocation to August 28. The proceedings immediately terminated.

A curious and very characteristic letter from F. M. the Duke of Wellington, in reply to Mr. Thompson, and some Protestant inhabitants of Dublin, is published by the Irish papers. Mr. Thompson and his friends had fished up a passage from one of the Duke's speeches on the Emancipation Bill, to the effect that if "disappointed in his hope of tranquillity, after a trial had been given to the measure," he should call for powers necessary to the occasion. This they construe into a conditional promise to repeal the Emancipation Act, and now claim its fulfilment. The Duke rebukes them at great length for their misconstruction; and further—

Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington, having thus disposed of the imputed engagements, proceeds to request that Mr. Thompson will, in answer to the application of the Protestant inhabitants of Dublin, inform them that although in the service of her Majesty, in the capacity of Commander-in-Chief of her Majesty's Land Forces, he is not called to her Majesty's Council; that in the capacity of Commander-in-Chief it is no part of his duty to receive, take into consideration, and submit to Parliament, the proposition of measures to relieve the inconveniences and evils of which her Majesty's subjects in Ireland may complain, as resulting from the operation of any law.

At the meeting of Conservative members at Lord Stanley's residence, on Tuesday, he stated that he would oppose any legislation which would deal with the Church of England as distinct from that of Ireland. He only acknowledged the one church as the Established Church—the United Church of England and Ireland. He would also oppose any proposal of a concordat with the Pope.

A county meeting was held at Cambridge, on Saturday, to protest against the aggression of the Pope. The Earl of Hardwicke, in proposing the first resolution, charged the Whig Government with having done their best to give power and precedence to the Roman Catholic hierarchy both in the colonies and in Ireland. Resolutions condemning the Papal aggression and the Romanist party in the Church of England were unanimously adopted.

The *Cork Examiner* exultingly proclaims that "the deed is done, and in the face of the open day too, and in the presence of some 5000 liege subjects of Queen Victoria." The plain English of this means that on Sunday last the "Bishop" of Ross was consecrated "by virtue, and in command, of the bull of his Holiness Pope Pius IX., successor of St. Peter, and visible head of that one, holy, and apostolic church, of which the Catholic Church of Ireland is one of the oldest and most honoured branches."

We understand that the Archbishop of Canterbury has

invited all the English prelates to a conference at Lambeth next (this) week, relative to the Papal aggression. —*Leeds Mercury.*

The *Limerick Reporter* contains an absurd rumour, "grounded on letters received from London, from well-informed and highly respectable sources, which confidently assert that the Duchess of Kent, mother of the Queen, has become a Roman Catholic. It need scarcely be added that the immediate relatives of her Royal Highness of the house of Leiningen are all members of the Catholic faith."

#### A NEW RELIGION.

The last accounts we have seen respecting a new religion are in the French papers. A trial took place in Paris, last week, at the Court of Assizes, of fourteen persons, who were accused of "holding illegal meetings not of a political nature." These persons are described as the disciples of a new religion of a rather disreputable character:—

"The new sect has existed for some years in France under the name of Beguins, and the members were in the habit of holding periodical reunions in the Rue d'Odillon, in Paris, till some months ago, when the meetings were brought under the notice of the police as being illegal and excessively immoral. The accused were almost all natives of the village of St. Jean, Bonnefonds, in the department of the Loire, where the sect seems to have had its origin, and most of them declared that they had been Beguins since their birth. For a long time the Beguins had had the reputation of being inoffensive people, both as respects morality and general conduct; but there appears to have been some sad backslidings ever since they placed themselves under the direction of their present chief, a person of the name of Digonnet, for whom they have a variety of appellations, which, according to them, can be addressed to him indifferently. They call him 'Le bon Dieu,' the good friend; 'Elie,' 'John the Baptist,' and 'the Holy Ghost.' This man is a beggar by profession, who, besides having undergone seven years' confinement in the bagne, is at the present moment a prisoner in the gaol of Aurillac on a charge of mendicancy and swindling. The vices of the 'God Digonnet' as he is called, and the credulity and faith of his blinded followers, are quite inexplicable. Though now sixty-seven years of age, he lived on terms of the strictest intimacy with all the females of his sect, flattering each that she was to become the mother of the Messiah. It appears from the evidence produced in the case, that the titles of Digonnet to the faith of the Beguins were—First, that they expected a prophet; secondly, that they recognized this prophet in the person of Digonnet, and by the accomplishment of the double prediction made by him, of the disease among the potatoes and the advent of the Republic. These are the only proofs of his divine mission, or rather of his divinity; for the Sectarists declare that they believe in his divinity from the bottom of their hearts. Yet notorious acts of the greatest infamy are alleged against this god of the Beguins. It appears certain (though the legal proof failed in bringing home the criminal portion of this charge to the accused) that he has introduced new practices into the form of the religion, in conformity to his own character and conduct. It was alleged on the trial, and not denied, that, in the nightly meetings of the sect, on a given signal, the lights were extinguished, and that all cried with a loud voice, 'Down with light! Down with modesty!' (à bas la lumière—à bas la pudeur). One of the doctrines of the sect is abstinence from marriage; but by the side of this precept is placed, it is said, the most unbridled dissoluteness, which is in fact the charge which brought them before the assizes. It is also said that they were in the habit of going into the woods at night, and marching in procession in a state of complete nudity, a practice which has been brought home to a vast number of sects of the same kind. The evidence produced before the jury was very defective, and failed in proving the worst part of the case; but enough was proved to show that with some trouble, the whole of the charges might have been made good against the prisoners. Digonnet himself was not put on his trial, being already in prison on a more serious charge, and not having been present at the meeting where his fourteen disciples were seized. The case was brought to light by one of the women belonging to the sect, who had been deprived of her two children (girls) by her co-religionists, for the purpose of being initiated in the mysteries of their faith. This woman, being witness to the abandoned practices of the other females of the sect, became alarmed for the fate of her children. She endeavoured to recover them, but failed; and finding no other means of doing so, she denounced the sect to the authorities, and gave such information as led to their arrest and trial. It was proved on the trial that recently one woman having announced herself to be in the family way by the God Digonnet, the whole sect congregated in the expectation of the advent of the Messiah; but, to the woful disappointment of all, and to the no small confusion of the god himself, the expected Messiah turned out to be a girl. Owing to defective evidence, the only thing that could be proved against the Beguins was that of having held illegal and unauthorized meetings; and, having been found guilty of this mitigated offence, they were condemned to a fine of 25*fr.* each."

#### TRIAL AND SENTENCE OF THE SLOANES.

The trial of Mr. and Mrs. Sloane for ill-treating their servant, Jane Wilbred, took place at the Central Criminal Court, on Wednesday. The court was exceedingly crowded during the whole of the day. At ten o'clock the learned judges, Mr. Justice Coleridge and Mr. Justice Cresswell, took their seats on the

bench, and the defendants, George Sloane and his wife, Theresa Sloane, were placed at the bar. He did not appear to exhibit much emotion, but his wife was very much affected, and she appeared hardly able to stand. She wore a thick veil over her face, and her features could not be discerned without difficulty. A chair was placed for her, and she remained seated during the proceedings.

They both pleaded not guilty to the first two counts of the indictment, and guilty to all the others.

Mr. Chambers, in opening the case for the prosecution, said the counts to which the prisoners had pleaded not guilty were framed upon what the law considered to be the duty of masters and mistresses towards their servants, when they were of tender years, namely, the duty of providing food and nourishment, and allowing them a proper opportunity to take such food and refreshment. After alluding to the facts of the case, with which our readers are already acquainted, he was about to call his witnesses, when he was addressed by Mr. Justice Coleridge, who said that the two first counts in the indictment could not be supported.

Mr. Justice Cresswell expressed the same opinion. A short conversation then took place, at the close of which Mr. Chambers said, if the charge could not be supported, it would be idle and improper for him to occupy any part of their time.

Mr. Justice Coleridge then addressed the jury, and said that the defendants were charged with a specific offence by an indictment which contained a great number of counts, to all of which they had pleaded guilty, except the first two; and upon those counts to which they had pleaded guilty they would, in due course, receive the judgment of the court. He mentioned this in order that they should not be under the misapprehension that the defendants would, by a verdict of not guilty as to those two particular counts, escape altogether from punishment. The counts upon which the court were of opinion the defendants could not be legally convicted were in effect these:—They charged that a girl of tender years, named Jane Wilbred, bring in the service of the defendants, that they neglected to perform the duty which devolved upon them, of providing her with proper food and nourishment. Now, it appeared quite clear that this girl was permitted to go out, and that she had plenty of opportunities of making complaints and of obtaining assistance, and it was her duty to have made such complaint; and, as she had not done so, the prisoners could not be held responsible for that which might have been avoided. It therefore appeared to the court that the two first counts in the indictment could not be supported; and under his direction, therefore, they would acquit the defendants upon them.

The jury accordingly found the defendants not guilty upon the counts referred to. They were then removed from the bar, and at a later period of the day were brought up for judgment.

Mr. Justice Coleridge addressed them in the following terms:—"George Sloane and Theresa Sloane, you have pleaded guilty to several counts of an indictment which charged you with having, in various ways, and upon various occasions, assaulted and ill-treated a girl, named Jane Wilbred, who was a servant in your employ. We have read with great care the depositions that were taken in your presence, before the magistrate, and we did not think it advisable to grant the application made by your counsel that you should be permitted to put in affidavits in answer to them and in mitigation, partly from the circumstance mentioned by him, namely, your poverty, and a desire, therefore, to avoid putting you to an unnecessary expense, and partly because there are certain facts and certain statements in those depositions which seem to speak for themselves and to defy contradiction. It seems that this young person—almost a child—an orphan, with no natural protector, came into your service, and it would seem that she was selected partly from the circumstance of her being an orphan, and having apparently a better constitution than some of the other girls, and, therefore, more likely to do you good service in the capacity in which you engaged her. For some time it appears that there was no reason for complaint on her part, but at length your course of treatment towards her appears to have entirely changed. Taking into consideration, however, the age of the girl and her opportunities of obtaining redress, the court does not consider that you are legally responsible upon that portion of the indictment, and your punishment will not be increased on account of it, but, at the same time, there is very little doubt that your conduct towards this poor girl has been most cruel in withholding from her proper Christian food. I say this because you know that the indictment not only charges you with withholding proper food, but also with forcing upon her matter as which nature revolts, and which I will not offend the ears of the court by further alluding to, it will be sufficient to say that you are charged with having forced upon her that which was nauseous, unwholesome, disgusting, and unnatural. One would have thought that the situation of that poor girl when she came into your service would have demanded especial protection at your hands, and that while she conducted herself well you would have assumed the position of her natural guardians. It is impossible not to take into consideration the position of the parties charged with such an offence. One of you, a gentleman devoted to the study and practice of the law, who must be taken to be thoroughly well versed in a matter so simple as this, and who must have known what was his duty. The other, I regret to say, a female and a wife—one who, it might have been thought, would have been the first to protect a young helpless girl who was placed in her power, but who, I regret to say, appears by the depositions to have taken an equal, if not a greater part in all the indignities that were practised.

When, after several months had elapsed, the condition of this unfortunate young girl became known through the kind and humane interference of a gentleman connected with your own profession, what was her condition? Emaciated, almost at the point of death, and so desperate her condition, that she could not even be sent back to the union workhouse, but the only place she could be sent to was a hospital. The extreme state of emaciation to which she was reduced was evinced by the almost incredible reduction in her weight, and the cause of that emaciation appeared to be also clearly shown by the circumstance that the administration of proper wholesome food speedily restored her to health and to her original bulk. It also appears by the depositions that, upon the person of this unfortunate girl being examined, marks of violence, some of recent and some of older date, were discovered—those marks of violence extending all over her person, and evidently showing that she had been subjected to a long and severe course of ill-treatment. I do not state these circumstances with any view of giving unnecessary pain. I trust that reflection has already caused you more pain than any remarks or punishment the court can inflict. I have thought fit to make them, because it is quite right that the public should know that in every case, where it is satisfactorily shown that a master or mistress has acted with cruelty towards a servant, that the court is determined to institute a strict inquiry into all the circumstances, and to award severe punishment. It now only remains for me to pass upon you the sentence which has been decided upon for your offence, which is that you be severally imprisoned for two years."

The defendants heard the sentence without betraying any emotion, and at the close of the learned judge's address they retired hastily from the dock.

#### REPEAL OF THE WINDOW-TAX.

A deputation from Marylebone, St. Pancras, Islington, and other metropolitan parishes, headed by Viscount Duncan, M.P., and a number of metropolitan members, including Lord Dudley Stuart, Sir Benjamin Hall, Sir William Molesworth, Mr. Wakley, Mr. T. Duncombe, Mr. C. Lushington, and Sir De Lacy Evans, had an interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer on Thursday on the subject of the repeal of the window-tax. The deputation made a formidable appearance on its way to Downing-street. There were altogether fifty or sixty vehicles, and on the outside of many of them large placards had been affixed, bearing the inscription—"Unconditional Repeal of the Window Tax." The procession, which reached from Regent-circus to Marylebone-lane, went down Oxford-street, Regent-street, and Whitehall, to Downing-street, where the deputation was reinforced by the addition of another body of delegates from Lambeth. Altogether the deputation consisted of more than two hundred persons, who inconveniently crowded the very large room into which they were shown, and as they could not all obtain a view of the speakers, some of them stood upon chairs.

After listening to Lord Duncan, and one or two other delegates, Sir Charles Wood impressed upon the deputation the importance of brevity, as he ought to be at the Cabinet at that moment. Lord Duncan had already said, in the House of Commons, all that could be said on the subject. Some five or six delegates then spoke, and were followed by Mr. T. Duncombe and Mr. Wakley. Sir Benjamin Hall was about to follow when Sir Charles Wood complained of his time being taken up unnecessarily in listening to gentlemen whom he could hear in the House. Sir Benjamin merely wished to know what course the Chancellor of the Exchequer meant to take. Sir Charles said it was utterly impossible for him to state what he intended to do. He had, however, given notice of his intention to make the annual financial statement at an earlier period than usual. He should make it next Friday evening. The deputation then withdrew.

#### A BOLD OUTLAW.

In a report lately addressed by the chief of the engineering department in Corsica some curious facts are detailed relative to the state of society in that part of the French republic. About three leagues to the north-east of Calvi, and on the sea coast, is the fortified town called Ile-Rousse, with a population of about 1000 inhabitants. The district for about thirty miles round is marshy or covered in part with jungle, and difficult of access. For the last eighteen months this district has been ruled despotically by a bandit, named Mazoni, and whose sway is submitted to by the natives. The vindictive character of the Corsicans, and their transmitting from father to son, for many generations, the memory of past wrongs and hatreds—the *vendette*—of families are well known. Driven to the career of an outlaw by some act of savage vengeance, Mazoni set up his flag in the centre of the district; and even in the town of Ile-Rousse no one dreams of disobeying or eluding his decrees. He is at the head of a band of twenty-five devoted followers, all outlaws like himself. He has organized a regular government, and levies a sort of black mail on the surrounding districts, which no one refuses, and the regular payment of which enables him to live in much state, and gives him the means of protecting the lives and properties of his subjects from the encroachments of rival brigands. So actively

has Mazoni exercised his authority that he is now at his twenty-seventh murder. None of the inhabitants will dare to accept employment from the government agents without his written permission, and any one who does so is sure to suffer the penalty of his disobedience. The last murder was committed with his own hand, though he was alone and his victim was accompanied by five or six persons. In his communications with the agents of the Government he affects a style of perfect equality; his despatches are drawn up in due form, in regular diplomatic style, and he always signs "Mazoni, Bandit." One of his latest communications to the principal engineer has been transmitted to the Government with his usual signature. This despatch gives some information concerning a person in the employment of the engineers who had entered on his engagement without his licence. He informs the authorities that the person in question is a man of bad character, who had attempted to dishonour a family under his protection, and he advises his instant dismissal and removal from the district, "to spare him," he adds, "the inconvenience of punishing him with his own hand." As Mazoni appears to be extending the circumstance of his domination, a detachment of troops has been ordered from the town to hunt him from his retreat.

#### MORE THAN A MATCH FOR A SCOUNDREL.

Some time since a quantity of planks and iron was placed across the rails of the London and North-Western line near the Cheddington station. Fortunately, however, the malicious intention of the party was frustrated by a timely discovery of the plot, and the obstructions were removed before a train came up. The usual steps were taken to discover the perpetrators of the inhuman act, but without effect. As strong suspicions, however, were entertained that they resided in the neighbourhood and might make another attempt, the authorities resolved not to let the matter pass by with impunity; accordingly other means were employed, which eventually proved successful. Some weeks ago, an itinerant vender of matches and other small wares appeared in the neighbourhood of Cheddington station, and took up his abode at Ivinghoe. No suspicion was attached to the new comer, and he plied his humble calling, which he facetiously dignified with the title of "timber-merchant," without molestation. By degrees he visited all the beer houses in the neighbourhood, and his acquaintance with the class of persons who frequented them became rather extensive. Being of a social and communicative turn, he became a general favourite at taproom carousals. In this way matters continued for some weeks, when one morning the tranquillity of the locality was somewhat disturbed by the apprehension of two men, named Prior and Newna, on a charge of having placed the obstructions mentioned above on the London and North-Western Railway with a malicious intent. They were taken before the magistrates, and, to their astonishment, found in the person of their accuser the venerable "matchman" transformed into a London detective. The officer, it appears, had performed his part very craftily. On all suitable occasions he contrived to introduce some topic about the railway, and during the conversations allusion was generally made to the late attempt at Cheddington: by great tact and perseverance, to be found amongst the class to which he belonged, he managed to collect a mass of "little facts and corroborations," and having completed the chain of evidence to the proper point, had the men named above taken into custody. The hearing was adjourned until Monday last, when the prisoners were again taken before the magistrates at Ivinghoe, and committed for trial at the next Buckinghamshire quarter sessions.—*Bedford Times*.

#### A KIDNAPPING COUNT.

A noble lady, a native of, and residing in, France, lost her child, a remarkable handsome girl, about five years and a half old, and heirress to a large fortune, about three weeks ago, under circumstances which left no doubt on her mind that Count —, a German, had got the child into his possession and had departed with her for London. In a state of great distraction the mother made the matter known to the Prefect of Police, through whose instrumentality the particulars, with a description of the parties, were transmitted to London. Inspector Field, of the "detectives," was directed to trace out the count, and after about ten days' indefatigable exertion, he succeeded in ascertaining that the count was living in a street near the Strand, and that the sum of 30,000 francs was demanded for the restoration of the child. Mr. Field was not disposed to listen to any proposal of this kind, and adopted a plan to get possession of the child. It was arranged that he in an assumed name should have an interview with the count in reference to a bill of exchange at an attorney's office, and both parties kept the appointment. The inspector at once disclosed who he was, and that his real object in obtaining the interview was to obtain possession of the child, and within an hour afterwards she was in his care, the count having at once volunteered to deliver her up rather than compromise his friends with whom he was living. Mr. Field subsequently received instructions to proceed to France and deliver up the child to the authorities, with which instructions he complied.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

The Queen and Prince Albert left Windsor Castle at four minutes before twelve o'clock on Monday, attended by the officers of the Royal household. A special train conveyed the party to the Paddington terminus, where the Queen and the Prince and the Royal suite entered three of her Majesty's carriages, and immediately left for

Buckingham Palace, a detachment of the 16th Lancers forming the escort. Her Majesty held a court and privy council at three o'clock in the afternoon. At the Court, Mr. James Meek, late controller of the victualling of the navy, Mr. Alexander Bannerman, lieutenant-governor of Prince Edward's Island, and Mr. J. W. Morrison, of Snarebrook, Essex, received the honour of knighthood. At the privy council the Queen's speech on opening Parliament was arranged and agreed upon. In the evening the Queen and Prince Albert attended the Haymarket Theatre to witness Mr. Macready's farewell performance. On Tuesday afternoon, at ten minutes to five o'clock, they left Buckingham Palace for the Paddington station, and arrived at Windsor Castle about a quarter to six.

The Duchess of Kent, attended by Baroness de Spaeth and Sir George Couper, arrived in town on Saturday morning from Frogmore, and visited the building for the Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations. After inspecting the building her Royal Highness went to Gloucester-house, and visited the Duchess of Gloucester. In the afternoon her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent left Clarence-house, St. James's, on her return to Frogmore.

The usual banquets, preliminary to the opening of Parliament, took place on Monday evening. Lord John Russell, as First Lord of the Treasury, entertained a large party of members of the House of Commons connected with the Government, at his official residence in Downing-street. The guests were all attired in full official costume, and after the banquet Lord John Russell read the Queen's speech to the assembled guests. The Marquis of Lansdowne, as leader of the Ministry in the House of Lords, gave a magnificent entertainment at Lansdowne-house to a very large party of peers—supporters of the present Government, to whom he read the royal speech. On the same evening Lord Stanley, as leader of the opposition in the House of Lords, entertained a large party of peers—supporters of Conservative policy—at his mansion in St. James's-square.

Lord Campbell gave judgment on Saturday in the case of the executors of the late Queen Dowager against the Lords of the Treasury. The decision was adverse to the claim, the judges being all of opinion that no arrears of the annuity could be claimed subsequent to the 30th of September, 1849.

The Rev. Dr. Pye Smith, after occupying for half a century perhaps the most distinguished place in the Nonconformist ministry of this country, expired on Wednesday, at Guildford, whither he had retired on leaving Homerton.

Immediately after the conclusion of the trial of the "Sloanes," on Wednesday, Lord John Russell, accompanied by Sir George Grey, and other officials connected with the inspection of prisons, arrived at Newgate for the purpose of witnessing and inspecting the various arrangements made therein by the direction of the visiting justices for the health and care of the prisoners. They were received by the Lord Mayor, Sir James Duke, M.P., and Alderman Humphrey, and escorted by them through the prison.

Mr. J. E. Mivart contradicts the report that Mivart's Hotel has been engaged by the Emperor of Austria and a numerous suite. He says the report is entirely without foundation.

The *Nation* contradicts the statement published that Mr. Smith O'Brien has accepted a ticket of leave, and says that he is a close prisoner at Port Arthur.

The French Ministers of War and Foreign gave an explanation, in committee, last week, on the subject of the French army in Rome. They said the President was anxious that an army should remain in the Roman States, of sufficient strength to insure respect to the position of France. The army consisted of 10,000 infantry and 1500 cavalry, and if further reduced it would cease to be efficient. Some members of the committee suggested that the expenses of the army should be supported by the Pontifical Government, and complained that France paid all the expenses, while Austria raised taxes in the Roman States, and paid their expenses out of them. The Ministers replied that it was not befitting the dignity of France to exact a price for her services.

A petition, already signed by several thousand names, is being actively carried about at Lyons, praying for a revision of the Constitution, and a prolongation of the President's powers.

A letter from Chalons-sur-Marne says that, in consequence of disorders which have taken place in the School of Arts and Trades of that town, twenty-seven pupils have been dismissed. The presence of the military was required for their expulsion, which happily was effected without any further disturbance.

The *Univers* publishes a long address, sent by the association of the working classes of Glasgow for the prevention of labour on Sunday, to the Count de Montalembert, congratulating him on his report of the better observance of the Sabbath.

The *Vote Universel* states that it has received letters from Ledru Rollin, at London, and Felix Pyat, at Lausanne, depicting the sufferings of the Socialist exiles in these two places during the winter, and asking for assistance. The *Vote Universel* declares that it cannot better respond to the appeal thus made than by calling on its patriotic readers to make up by subscription a certain sum to be forwarded for the use of the exiled Democrats residing in England and Switzerland.

M. Desfontaines, manufacturer of bronzes, Rue St. Honoré, Paris, was murdered about a month ago by his servant, named Viou, a young man who had only been a fortnight in his service. The murder was not discovered till several days after it was committed, by which time the assassin had made his escape. After a journey of twenty days in the provinces, he returned to Paris, without having taken the slightest pains to evade detection, not having even changed his name. He was arrested



on Tuesday, and, after examination, was committed to gaol.

It is expected that the Tariff Congress at Vienna will adopt the Ministerial proposals, with very few alterations. The idea of a general Customs' Union for Central Europe is given up; and, therefore, Austria may pursue its system of protection without hesitation. The Government promises to suppress smuggling, by treating it in future, not as a misdemeanour, but as a crime.

The Austrian government has addressed a remonstrance to the Greek Cabinet on the subject of the welcome given to the Italian refugees in Greece, and of the conduct of those individuals. Several of the clubs at which they assembled have been closed in consequence.

The Burg Theatre at Vienna lately proposed prizes for the two best comedies. The first prize of 200 ducats was given to the celebrated Bauernfeld for a play entitled "The Peremptory Order." The second prize of 100 ducats is to be adjudged by the public in the following way:—The two comedies, "The Prize Play," by Mautner, and "The Love Letter," by Benedix, will be performed during six months, and the author whose piece attracts the fullest houses will have the reward.

The Common Council of Vienna has asked permission to make its sittings public, and erect galleries for strangers.

A deputation from Pesth, intending to present the freedom of the city to Prince Paskiewitch, has been stopped at Vienna and sent home again, on account of informalities. Orders are given that no similar deputations are to be allowed to start without permission from the Government. It is hinted that members of the magistracy got up these ceremonies in order to travel and spend money at the cost of the corporation.

A trial took place in Berlin last week, which has excited a good deal of interest among the people of that city. The wife of a rich dyer, a Mme. Fischer, a celebrated beauty, was on bad terms with her husband; they had applied for a divorce, and were living in separate rooms of the suite of apartments that constituted their dwelling; the husband lived in the front rooms, and the wife in the back rooms of the same lodging. In the husband's absence the wife took out of his desk a hundred louis-d'or, not being content with the supply of money made her by him. For this act of helping herself the court has condemned her to nine months' hard labour in a house of correction. The sentence seems very harsh, since a wife, still under the same roof with her husband, and not yet divorced, may well retain notions of community of property, which must very much excuse liberties taken on her part with regard to her husband's purse.

One of the chief places of amusement in Berlin, the large establishment known as Kroll's, was totally destroyed by fire last Saturday. Of the large building, which, with its extensive façade and square towers, was the ornament of the Thier Garten, nothing remains standing but the bare walls. The three splendid saloons, when thrown into one for balls and masquerades, formed one of the longest galleries in Europe. The decorations of the Christmas *Anstellung* had not been removed, and in the centre saloon the great panorama of the Mississippi had been for some days exhibited. A concert was to have been given there in the evening, but at mid-day, from some cause not yet clearly ascertained, a fire broke out among the decorations and tapestries of the interior, and in a few minutes the whole of the fabric was in flames.

A private letter from Venice states that the Duke of Bordeaux is lying in a dangerous state, without the slightest hope of recovery. This rumour has excited great consternation and grief among the Legitimists; and it is thought that in the event of the Duke's death the Legitimists and the Orleanists would unite in supporting the claims of the Count de Paris to the throne.

Count Zichy, former Governor of Venice, who had been condemned to rigid imprisonment, has been pardoned by the Emperor of Austria.

The *Osservatore Romano* of the 23rd ultimo, gives the following account of a recent conversion of a Puseyite, an English lady, to the Romish faith:—"We rejoice to announce, that lately here in Rome, touched by Divine Grace, Mrs. Henrietta Bagshaw, of the county of Stafford, in England, has abandoned the sect of the Puseyites, and entered the bosom of the Catholic Church. After having been instructed by the Reverend Father Martin Crane, Prior of the Irish Augustines of St. Maria in Posterula, she made her abjuration in his hands on the 11th of January current (he being authorized to receive it by the superior ecclesiastics), and was conditionally baptized. On the following day her fervent religious aspirations were fully crowned by the reception of the sacrament and admission to the holy communion. Those who were present at the pious function were highly edified by it."

Some time since a Spaniard, named Dias Martinez, challenged General Narvaez to mortal combat. The General referred the matter to the Tribunals, and Martinez was sentenced to banishment for a period of eighteen months from Madrid, and to keep at a certain distance from any spot where Narvaez might happen to be residing. Martinez soon after quitted Spain, and came to Paris. On hearing of Narvaez' arrival at Bayonne, he quitted Paris secretly, in company with General Armero, and proceeded to Bayonne, determined to call his persecutor to account. Scarcely had they left when a telegraphic despatch communicated the facts to the Sub-Prefect of Bayonne, and instructions were given that the travellers should be prevented from putting their design in execution, otherwise they were treated with all due respect. On their arrival at Bayonne they were sent for by the Sub-Prefect, who interrogated them as to their intentions. Having avowed the object they had in leaving Paris, namely to challenge Narvaez to mortal combat, they were ordered to set out for Paris instantly, under pain of imprisonment.

A letter from St. Petersburg states that above 10,000

Russians, belonging to the richest families in Russia, have already applied to the Emperor for his authority to pass a few months in London during the Grand Exhibition.

The Nepaulese Ambassador has arrived at Calcutta, and great preparations for his honourable reception have been made by his own Government, who have despatched a large body of troops to their frontier to welcome him.

There have been some disturbances in Assam, occasioned by the Nagas, a hill tribe on the Burmese frontier. About 500 regular troops and the head-quarters of the Assam Light Infantry are at present engaged in operations against them. The object of the expedition is the destruction of the strongholds which these tribes use as the base of their predatory operations. General Whish is going on a tour of inspection to Assam, to ascertain whether any reinforcements will be required for the purpose of putting them down.

An expedition in search of Dr. Leichart, the Australasian traveller, from whom no account has been received for an unusually long period, was in December last preparing to start from Singapore, intending to explore the coast of New Holland, beyond Van Diemen's Land.

A cheap inland postage bill has passed the American House of Representatives, and will probably pass the Senate; letters to all parts of the States, under half an ounce, to be only three cents, and three cents additional for every additional half-ounce, or fraction of half an ounce. One section of the bill provides for the coining of strongly alloyed silver coins, worth three cents each, for the convenience of the people in post-office transactions.

A New York journal says:—"It is estimated that between 20,000,000 and 30,000,000 dollars have been carried away in the baggage and pockets of passengers. It would not be far out of the way to estimate the amount of gold carried away from California from June, 1848—when the discovery was made—to September, 1849, at 40,000,000 dollars. It therefore appears, by these statements, that about 70,000,000 dollars in gold have been exported from California from June, 1848, to December, 1850—a period of two years and six months."

The last accounts from Rio speak of the arbitrary arrest with violence of a French milliner by the authorities which had caused great excitement amongst the French residents, and had been taken up by the French Legation, but the result was not known.

Monday was the last day in which public admission could be obtained to see the Crystal Palace. Invitations for the members of both Houses were issued, available for Thursday; after which no person, under any circumstances whatever, will be admitted by the Executive Committee, besides those employed in arranging the goods, until the 1st of May.

A design for a glass covering to the Royal Exchange has been submitted by Mr. Paxton to the Gresham Committee. It resembles in some degree the roof of the transept at the Exposition, and seems calculated to add considerably to the appearance of the building. Full ventilation is provided for, and its construction, it is asserted, would render the temperature of the area beneath more agreeable, not only in winter, but also in summer. The expense would be comparatively trifling.

The whole of the houses on the south side of Cannon-street, extending from Lawrence Pountney-hill to St. Martin's-lane, including those in Pewterer's building, a large portion of the East London union, and the property contiguous, have been taken down for the widening of the east of Cannon-street, in order to open the thoroughfare from King William-street to the south side of St. Paul's churchyard, for which purpose the corporation have voted £200,000. The removal of the above houses completes the widening of Cannon-street, and the formation of this great thoroughfare from London-bridge to Queen-street, Cheap-side, being half the entire length.

The resignation of Alderman Gibbs has caused a vacancy for the ward of Walbrook. Four candidates started, but two having withdrawn, a gentlemen in the Tory interest, and Mr. Robert Le Blond, well known in liberal circles, are the remaining candidates. Mr. Le Blond being a member of South place Chapel, attempts have been industriously made to prejudice his election on account of his religious opinions. We thought this disreputable practice had been abandoned in the best political quarters. Surely it will not succeed in the City, which has so independently declared that even Jewish sentiments shall no longer be a political disqualification?

The ceremony of searching the vaults beneath the Houses of Parliament, customary since the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, took place on Monday. The ceremony is now shorn of much of its official character, the procession consisting merely of the under officers of the Sergeant-at-Arms and the police on duty at the Parliament-house.

Windsor election is fixed for Monday next. Mr. Hatchell, her Majesty's Attorney-General for Ireland is the only candidate. The election for Bedfordshire will take place on Monday, the 17th instant, at half-past ten. It is not at all probable that any opposition will be offered, so that Colonel Gilpin will have an easy election.

The *Manchester Guardian*, in speaking of the Clausen invention for adapting flax to cotton machinery, says:—"We have seen a sample of yarn, spun by Messrs. Bright and Brothers, of Rochdale, which seems to us much more promising than any previously produced from mixed flax and cotton. It is mule yarn, apparently about No. 16; and is stated to be produced from four parts flax and one part cotton. It is good, strong, useful yarn—somewhat rough and uneven; but if it can be produced, as stated to us, at 2d. per lb. under the price of cotton yarn, it is likely to come into extensive use. Of course, we cannot say how far cloth made from it could be dyed of uniform colour; that must be determined by experiment."

The experiment of dyeing the cloth made of M. Claus-

sen's prepared flax mixed with cotton has been entirely successful, and the colour produced is as clear and uniform as in articles made of cotton alone. Some specimens of woollen cloth with one-third flax have also been exhibited, which are said to answer the most sanguine expectations.

Mr. Thomas Graham, Professor of Chemistry at University College; Dr. Miller, Professor of Chemistry at King's College; and Dr. Hoffman, Professor of the Agricultural College of Chemistry, have been appointed commissioners to inquire into the qualities of the several waters now in use in the metropolis, and also the supplies proposed for the future.

A temperance demonstration, one of a series to be held this year, took place in Exeter-hall, on Monday, Mr. J. S. Buckingham, who occupied the chair, stated that a conference was about to be held at Leicester to organize a grand conference of all nations on the temperance question during the forthcoming Exhibition. The meeting was addressed by the Reverend Thomas Spencer, the Reverend William Forster, the Reverend Newman Hall, and the Reverend G. W. M'Cree.

The Thames presented an unusual appearance on Saturday afternoon, in consequence of the tide which rose to a considerable height, flooding many of the warehouses in Vauxhall, Lambeth, &c., causing much damage to property stored away in the cellars and other low-lying places on either side of the river.

The family of Mr. White, of the Temple Divan, St. Clement's-churchyard, very narrowly escaped suffocation from fire, on Wednesday morning. They slept on the third floor, over the billiard-room, and at seven o'clock were aroused by a strong smell of smoke. All escaped to the roof, except Mrs. White, whose weight broke down a table, on which she was standing. Robinson, who was present with a Royal Society fire-escape, ascended his ladder, entered the attic, and, taking Mrs. White in his arms, brought her down without injury. The fire was extinguished in about an hour, but not until the billiard and other rooms, with the whole of their contents, had been destroyed.

An inquiry as to the state of mind of Mr. David Wilson, a retired merchant of the city, was opened before Mr. Barlow, one of the Masters in Lunacy, at the Sheriff's-office, Red Lion-square, on Monday. Mr. Wilson had amassed a considerable fortune, and retired from business several years since. Two years ago his wife died, and ever since her death he had been unsettled in his habits, wandering about from place to place. In December last he was residing at Brighton, when his friends thought it necessary to have him placed under the care of an attendant, he having talked in an extraordinary manner about marrying a second time, and upon other subjects, and having on one occasion, after he had retired, suddenly reappeared in his night-shirt in the room where his friends, including some ladies, were assembled. Dr. Winslow said he was labouring under an organic disease of the brain, a result of which was general paralysis, and that there was not the slightest hope of his restoration to reason, being now decidedly insane. The lunatic, a stout, fine-looking man, about fifty years of age, on being questioned by the commissioners gave extremely incoherent answers. Amongst other things, of an equally ridiculous nature, he said he had a second wife, who was a little princess; that he had dined with the little queen and Prince Philip; that he went to Paris and back in an hour and a half, and sold three little pictures for £42,000; that he was going to California to convert gold into dollars; that he was going to travel to Jerusalem, Syria, and Rome—to the latter place to kiss the Pope's toe; and that he was about to be married to a rich heiress in Yorkshire. The verdict of the jury was that he had been insane since the 10th of December last.

Major-General Fearon, who has lately resided with his daughter, Lady Palmer, at Much Hadham, committed suicide by shooting himself, on Sunday week. He had been for some time past unwell, and in a desponding state of mind. He was missed at luncheon, and on search being instituted, the body was found in an outhouse, at no great distance from the dwelling of his daughter, by one of the servants.

James Bayley, aged thirty-three, went to Sydney as a chief mate on board the *Anna*, eighteen months ago. Upon reaching Sydney he and the crew deserted the brig and made off to California, in the hope of being suddenly enriched. At California they worked incessantly, and in a short time amassed a large quantity of gold dust. He then left the "diggings" to spend his treasure in drink, but while so indulging himself, cholera cut down all his messmates, which so terrified him that he returned as quickly as possible to London, bringing with him 4000 dollars in gold, which he sold in Cornhill, and then pursued a course of dissipation until he had spent all his money with the exception of £30. On Wednesday week he was attacked with apoplexy, and died in a few hours.

A disgraceful scene took place in Revesby Church, in Lincolnshire, last Sunday. In consequence of a misunderstanding between Mr. Banks Stanhope, lord of the manor, and the Reverend Mr. Veitch, the latter has been superseded in his curacy by a Mr. Bowman. Mr. Veitch, who disputes the right of Mr. Banks Stanhope to make this appointment, made his appearance at the chapel door last Sunday, some time before the hour of service, but was refused admittance by a guard which had been placed at the door. When the bells rang, however, he entered along with the rest of the congregation, and proceeded towards the reading-desk. That and the pulpit were guarded, as was also the communion-table. Mr. Veitch took his place on the steps of the altar; and when the bells had ceased ringing, he commenced the service. At the same time Mr. Bowman began to read the service from the reading-desk, and each was reading at the same time. One of the churchwardens approached Mr. Veitch, and told him to desist; but he continued the service, upon which the church-

warden told him that if he proceeded to disturb the congregation he should remove him by force. Mr. Veitch still continued his reading, whereupon he was pushed off the steps, and forced along the aisle to the church doors, he continuing to read the service until he was ejected from the edifice.

William Day, aged eighty-five, who has been for half a century a poulterer in Leadenhall-market, was brought up at Lambeth Police-office, on Wednesday, on a charge of having caused the death of his wife, aged sixty-eight. Day and his wife had lived apart for the last twenty years, and she had been in the habit of calling upon him in the market for her weekly allowance every Saturday evening. Last Saturday she did not call, and her husband went on Sunday to see what was the matter, but could not obtain admittance. On Monday evening he called again, but without success, and on mentioning to the neighbours his suspicions that his wife was dead, they broke open the door but could find no trace of her. Next day a more minute search was made when the body was found doubled up in a small recess, behind some rabbit hutches, a place into which it was thought that she could not have got herself. From careful inquiry it did not appear that there was any good ground for accusing the old man of the murder, if she had met with her death by violence, and he was accordingly discharged.

A Mr. John Cooper, formerly head assistant at the Lincoln Grammar School, and who has lately conducted a boarding school at Stanfield-hall, near Todmorden, has been apprehended on a charge of having poisoned his wife. He has been married about four years, and has two children, one about six weeks old, and another about two years. The motive assigned by public rumour for the alleged murder, is that Cooper has been on very intimate terms with the daughter of a Wesleyan minister at Alford, in Lincolnshire, to whom he was anxious to be married.

Three steamboat catastrophes took place in the Clyde this week. On Tuesday night, the Thistle steamer, on its way from Glasgow to Londonderry, ran down the brig Laurel, from Demerara, for Glasgow, near the Pladda, when all her crew, fourteen in number, were drowned. The same night at a later hour, the Vanguard, steamer from Glasgow for Dublin, came into collision with a schooner off Corsewall Point, and was so much damaged that she returned to Greenock. It is not known what became of the schooner. On Wednesday morning, the boiler of the Plover steambot, plying between Glasgow and Bowling, exploded while the vessel was lying at the Bromielaw. The engineer was killed and several persons seriously wounded.

The Toronto, a fine packet-ship, nearly 1000 tons burden, which accomplished some of the most rapid passages on record between London and New York, was totally lost near the Bahama Islands, last month. The crew and passengers were all saved, but the ship and cargo, valued at £30,000, were entirely lost.

A man named George Firth, forty-three years of age, steward at the Partridge-dale colliery, near Burnley, was murdered on the morning of yesterday fortnight. On the previous day he had been to Burnley where he had drunk too freely, and started for home in a state of intoxication, accompanied part of the way by his brother. Just before the latter parted with him two men passed, one of whom carried a gun, and a slight altercation took place between them and George Firth. From that time nothing more was heard of him till next morning, between five and six o'clock, when he was found by two colliers as they were going to their work, lying upon the footpath about one hundred yards from his own house. They assisted him to his own house, but as it was dark they did not see that he was wounded. When subsequently examined he was bleeding profusely from a wound in the back part of his head. He gradually became worse and died next morning. On a post-mortem examination it was ascertained that he had been shot, and that the ball had gone right through the brain. Nothing has yet transpired to account for his having been shot.

Two men who had been begging about the neighbourhood of Walsall for some days previously, broke into the house of a small farmer named Holmes, near that town, on Wednesday night week, and had very nearly accompanied the burglary by murder. They made their way in through a back window, and, after packing up a quantity of plunder, visited the larder and drank two bottles of wine. Emboldened by their potations they went up stairs where their first act was to make a deadly assault upon Holmes. They struck him twice on the head, with such force as completely to shiver the weapon to splinters; fancying they had killed him they then began to plunder the room, but the farmer's skull had been harder than they had calculated upon; he started from bed, caught hold of a staff and knocked one of the burglars senseless on the floor, the other attempted to run away, but Holmes was too quick for him. Assistance was then obtained, and they were both taken to prison.

It is now definitively arranged that a royal commission will be immediately issued to inquire into the state of the University of Dublin. The Archbishop of Dublin will be at the head of the new commission.

A district tenant-right meeting was held at Banbridge, in the county of Down, on Monday. The *Northern Whig* states that the attendance was more numerous than at other recent meetings, and that the speeches were, with scarcely an exception, characterized by an unusual moderation of tone.

The Directors of the National Bank of Limerick, have refused to honour the application of the Board of Guardians for £2500, and the consequence has been the stoppage of the works for erecting another poorhouse.

The Board of Trinity College, Dublin, have acquired possession, at the cost of 300 guineas, of the identical sword worn by King William at the battle of the Boyne, and have placed it in their museum.

## TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

It is impossible to acknowledge the mass of letters we receive. Their insertion is often delayed, owing to a press of matter; and when omitted it is frequently from reasons quite independent of the merits of the communication.

Communications should always be legibly written, and on one side of the paper only. If long, it increases the difficulty of finding space for them.

All letters for the Editor to be addressed 9, Crane-court, Fleet-street, London.

## POSTSCRIPT.

SATURDAY, Feb. 8.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL moved, last evening, for leave to bring in a bill "to prevent the assumption of certain ecclesiastical titles in respect of places in the United Kingdom." He pointed to the proceedings of the Catholic Synod at Thurles, to show the aggressive interference of the Roman Catholic hierarchy was not confined to spiritual matters. In the address published by that body, from whose meetings all laymen were excluded, the chief topics were national education and the land question. This was a sample of what would be done if they were allowed to proceed without check. He gave several instances of the encroaching spirit of the Pope in foreign countries, in all of which, Catholic as well as Protestant, they found it necessary to pass laws that no concordat or rescript from the Pope could be received, unless sanctioned by the civil authorities of such states respectively. Considering all these things, he felt the recent proceedings of the Pope, in changing vicars apostolic in this country into archbishops and bishops, was highly important, more particularly as the alteration took place entirely without the consent or knowledge of the Government. He had certainly been privately informed by an individual that such a project was in contemplation, and he at once replied that he could not consent to any such arrangement, and had subsequently remained under the impression that the matter was at an end. He believed that in no country in Europe, save only England, could the Pope have dared to offer such an insult to the Sovereign. In England, from the earliest period of our history, our Roman Catholic ancestors had always been jealous of the encroaching power of Rome, and had taken measures to restrain it:—

"Government had consulted the legal advisers of the Crown as to the existing law, who were of opinion that neither by the common nor statute law could the mere assumption of titles be prosecuted as an offence; and that, although the introduction of bulls or writings from Rome was illegal, and subjected the party to a penalty, the law had been so long in disuse that a prosecution would on that ground probably fail. After specifying the objections to which other courses were open, the Government, he observed, had, under the circumstances, and with reference to the control which the new Roman Catholic prelates would obtain over large endowments in the hands of Roman Catholic trustees in this country, proposed, in the first place, to prevent the assumption of any title not only from any diocese now existing, but from any territory or place in any part of the United Kingdom; and to restrain parties from obtaining by virtue of such titles any control over trust property. In conclusion, he remarked the best course Dr. Wiseman could pursue was to renounce the title he had assumed, and, as he had assured him (Lord John) was his original intention, to reside at Rome; but if other counsels should prevail, and he should instil motives of ambition or revenge into the Court of Rome, we must prepare for a long and arduous struggle, in which the part he should take would be guided by the principles which had always governed his conduct in these questions: he was for the fullest enjoyment of religious liberty, but he was entirely opposed to any interference by any ecclesiastics with the temporal supremacy of this realm."

Not a single speaker last night gave his approval to the proposed bill. Mr. ROEBUCK condemned it as a step backwards in obedience to prejudices out of doors, but which would be utterly inefficient. Mr. JOHN O'CONNELL said Lord John had done wisely, and even courageously, in preparing to undergo the ridicule which would be heaped on him for having brought forth this mouse out of a mountain rather than propose a severe penal enactment. Mr. HENRY DRUMMOND doubted whether the Government could beat back the Papal aggression by any such measure. The priests would slip through their fingers, and carry their measures in spite of Government:—

"The great object of the Pope was to take away all trust-funds from the English courts of law, and to place them under the sole management of Archbishop Wiseman. That was the real gist of the question. (Hear.) The money was the thing. (Hear.) It matters very little whether they called Dr. Wiseman Archbishop of Westminster or Archbishop of England; but to take the property of Roman Catholics out of the hands of our courts, and get it into their own—that was an object worth attaining."

Mr. E. B. ROOPE thought Ministers were doing a very unwise thing in extending the measure to Ireland. Mr. MOORE characterized the Anti-Popery agitation as "a Scotch mist, drenching the souls of men with a long, dreary drizzle of scurrility and

cant." If, however, the people of England really wished Parliament to resist Popery, some stronger measure than the one proposed would be required. Mr. BAILEY ridiculed the whole of the Anti-Papal agitation from its commencement by the Premier to its close by his introduction of the present abortive measure. Mr. DISRAELI would not oppose the introduction of the bill, because he wished the people of England to see the pitiful result of that remarkable agitation which had been fostered by Government. The course taken was not only unsatisfactory for the present, but extremely perilous for the future. "The noble lord seemed to have chalked out an almost illimitable career, which commences with petty persecution, perhaps to terminate with national disaster." Sir ROBERT INGLIS thanked Lord John Russell for his speech and his letter, but was afraid that the bill would not be satisfactory. The debate was then adjourned till Monday.

CARDINAL WISEMAN AND LORD MINTO.—Lord Stanley, though perfectly satisfied with Lord Minto's statement on Thursday evening, that he had not been privy to any intention on the part of the Pope to organize a Roman Catholic hierarchy in England, still, considering the pointed statement made by Cardinal Wiseman—

"That the measure now promulgated was not only prepared but printed three years ago, and a copy of it was shown to Lord Minto by the Pope, on the occasion of an audience given to his lordship by His Holiness"—

wished to know, last evening, whether, upon the receipt of the letter addressed to Lord John Russell by Cardinal Wiseman in November, any communication was made to him by the noble lord; whether an explicit denial was at the time given by Lord Minto to the statement; and whether, on the part of the Government, that explicit denial was communicated to Cardinal Wiseman? In reply Lord Minto said that as soon as the statement appeared he communicated the fact to Lord John Russell, that no such communication had ever been made to him (Lord Minto), and a letter, by whom written he did not recollect, was published, in the newspapers stating distinctly that he (Lord Minto) was neither a party to, nor cognizant of the measure:—

"I am quite at a loss to understand on what the report is founded or what gave rise to it; but assuming that the report proceeded from the Pope, it must have occurred from the Pope stating something to have passed between us at the interview which did not pass, or, if it did pass, I was not aware of it, and can have no recollection of the matter. It is stated that during our conversation the Pope pointed to some papers on the table, and said, 'these concern you,' and that I took no notice of the remark. I certainly have no recollection of such an occurrence, but it is very possible such a thing might have occurred, and that it attracted no attention from me. Having, at the same time, more interesting affairs to speak about, it is possible that the words might have been used, and that I did not notice them. But, as I said before, I have no recollection of anything of the sort, or that anything was said or done to make me acquainted with the intentions of the Pope."

Lord Stanley was not satisfied with the latter portion of the explanation. It appeared that a communication might have been made to the noble earl and that he had not noticed it. Lord Minto reiterated his inability to recollect that anything of the kind had taken place, and the conversation dropped. In the House of Commons, Mr. ROEBUCK referred to the same awkward topic for Ministers. He said that, since the outburst of puritanical spirit in England, Lord Minto had received a letter from the Abbate Hamilton, residing at Rome, reminding him of the following circumstance:—

"The Abbate Hamilton said that Lord Minto, coming direct from an audience with the Pope, told him that he had seen a brief by which the hierarchy of the Roman Church was established in England. Lord Minto said that the Pope had shown him the document, but he (Lord Minto) told him that he had nothing to do with it, because with the internal regulations of the Church of Rome the British Government had nothing to do. (Hear, hear.)"

At the Central Criminal Court, yesterday, Samuel Hill, charged with having caused the death of Moses Barnes, in a lunatic asylum at Peckham, was found guilty of manslaughter.

The *Gatesley Vindicator* confirms, on the authority of letters from Rome, the statement made in the *Southern Reporter*, that "no decision hostile to the Queen's Colleges is likely to emanate from the Holy See."

From the French papers of Thursday it seems very improbable that the Dotation Bill will pass. It was thought that the discussion would take place to-day, but the decision will not be before Monday most probably. It is reported that M. CRETON intends to present a proposition to prevent a national subscription in favour of the President, on the ground that it would be an insult to the Assembly, and that he defends his proposition on the ground that the law forbids a subscription for the payment of fines imposed by the courts of law; and that there is no reason why the same principle should not be extended to subscriptions got up in opposition to a decision of the Assembly.

The Ministerial crisis at Paris is causing much alarm at the Vatican. They are afraid that the French troops may possibly be withdrawn. In that case, supposing affairs in the north of Italy should look threatening again, they could have no help from either Austria or Naples. The result would be that the Pope would have to march once more to Gaeta, or somewhere else.

Letters from Vienna of the 2nd contradict the statement of the Vienna papers respecting the alleged dangerous condition of the Count de Chambord. The count is slightly indisposed.



# The Leader.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1851.

## Public Affairs.

There is nothing so revolutionary, because there is nothing so unnatural and convulsive, as the strain to keep things fixed when all the world is by the very law of its creation in eternal progress.—DR. ARNOLD.

### THE QUEEN'S SPEECH.

THE royal speech on the opening of Parliament is an old joke, and journalists are generally suffering it to drop below criticism. Most of the humorous ideas which it suggests have been said too often for repetition. We are tired of hearing how Charles the Second was the first to read his speech, and how he gave as his reason that he was ashamed to look his subjects in the face, since he had so often asked them for money. We have grown hardened to the platitudes studiously elaborated to be platitudes and nothing else—nothing more dangerous.

But the wonder which does remain unfamiliarized to the mind is the trouble taken to elaborate this nothing, the importance attached to it by the public, and the pomp made to attend it. Why speculate on the Queen's speech beforehand? You would not trouble yourself with anxious speculation as to what Lord Mountcashel should say on the 4th of February: then why cast about to guess at what the Cabinet Council will compose, studiously reduced to the level of Mountcashel insipidity? The one most hardly used is the Queen; who is brought from Windsor Castle, and must ride in state from Buckingham Palace to the House of Lords, on purpose to utter Downing-street platitudes in the face of Europe. Of all the parts actually rejected even by second-rate or third-rate actresses, probably not one would be so utterly pointless as that specially written for Queen Victoria! It is taking a mean advantage of her dependence on the Ministry. Yet she performs her part with the best grace and courage—utters the Cabinet platitudes with finished elocution, does her best to read the annual slipshod into music, and imparts what emphasis she may to nothing. It is surprising how well it is done. But why do it at all? It certainly is not worth the doing. We wonder that some day, just before Parliament meets, Queen Victoria does not rush to find some Minister capable of writing her a better part—one worth her reciting.

As it stands, most certainly it is not worth the public's being anxious about—or hurrying to the newspaper offices for second editions to read that blank prize—known beforehand to be blank! The day's wonderment about the royal speech is one of the most curious instances of the English adherence to habit: having formerly been anxious, John Bull feels bound to be so still; he is eager upon principle, and is agitated with the punctuality and regularity suited to the emotions of a man of business.

If there is a truth worthy of note, peeping out through the blank countenance of the speech—studiously blank as the face of a hardened offender making his periodical appearance before the magistrate—it is in that closing sentence: "We have every cause to be thankful to Almighty God for the measure of tranquillity and happiness which he has vouchsafed to Us." You have, O Ministers, every reason to be thankful to Almighty God; but also to the English People—even to those numbers who are not included in the "prosperity" which you glorify, and to those agricultural labourers whom, while condoling with agricultural distress falling on landowners and occupiers, you do not mention at all. Yet what is the distress of the most unfortunate landlord or the most ruined farmer, to that of the wretched labourer—that wretched being dependent on those—most miserable in every part of him, inside and out? And in gratitude for that so precious "tranquillity," what are you going to do? You do not say—unless it be that you are going to bring in some "measure" to crown your humbug about the Papal aggression, and one to register deeds, &c., relating to property. But what has the People to do with that? Also some measures for the improvement of the law "may be submitted,"—and may not: what then? You only

promise this deed register and this anti-Papal nonsense, which you dare not make more than a solemn trifle.

Such, then, People of England, is the amount promised you by the Government—a deed registry and an anti-Papal measure; Ireland is not mentioned, nor the Colonies. Now, one more question occurs to us, O People:

What are you going to do?

### LAW FOR THE RICH AND LAW FOR THE POOR.

THE law is open to the rich and the poor much after the same fashion as the London Tavern was said to be by John Horne Tooke, in one of his most felicitous sarcasms. The relative positions of the law and the London Tavern are not exactly the same as they were in the time of Horne Tooke. We have seen on several occasions that the London Tavern is not quite inaccessible to working men, and we are willing to take this as an earnest of the future accessibility of the law. As a step towards this end let us consider what is the nature of our laws, and how their improvement may be promoted.

Laws may be divided into enabling and disabling laws; thus the Reform Act enables certain holders of property to vote at Parliamentary elections, the Newspaper Act disables those who cannot pay for stamps from publishing newspapers. All laws in this country are made by the rich, that is, the holders of property; they pass one set of laws to enable themselves and another set of laws to disable the poor, that is, those who have little or nothing to depend on but their labour.

As there are two sorts of laws, so there are two methods of law reform. The man of enlarged sympathies and strong faith conceives a principle, and endeavours, not always with much success, to work it out; the practical man, as he calls himself, who sees a little beyond his nose, perceives an abuse, and tries to get rid of it without looking farther. The successful reformer must combine the two methods; grasping a principle himself, and teaching it to all who will learn, he must adapt himself to the capacity of the moderate obstructives, and show how his principle is already practically recognised in theory, and how it is vitiated in practice. In doing this he must keep in view the distinction between enabling and disabling laws; he must endeavour to extend the former to the poor and the latter to the rich. As, for instance, the borough franchise is given to the £10 householder, it is impossible for any obstructive to object very strongly to a similar franchise in counties; the county franchise is given to the forty shilling freeholder, or holder of property worth £66, it would be an easy matter to show that any inhabitant of a borough possessing that sum in cash or furniture is unjustly treated by being disfranchised. On the other hand, a disabling law should be enforced against the rich till they are sick of allowing it to remain on the statute book. The laws against blasphemy were made, not to act against such men as Shaftesbury and Bolingbroke, or even as Hume and Gibbon, but to keep down such persons as Carlile and Hetherington, and others who had more frankness than polish, and who were likely to mislead the lower orders. When Henry Hetherington was convicted of publishing a blasphemous book, he obtained writs against Fraser and Moxon, and the latter gentleman was in his turn convicted of selling Shelley's *Queen Mab*—convicted but not imprisoned, for his prosecutor never prayed judgment against him, as his object was attained: a law was passed forbidding prosecutions for blasphemy except at the instance of the Attorney-General, who is not likely to interfere in such matters again.

Of all the disabling laws, we know of none more noxious than the Excise laws, and the worst of these is the Newspaper Act. Passing by the iniquitous provisions of which that act is full, the one provision that no record of fact shall ever be deemed legal without paying a tax to the revenue, is sufficient to challenge our astonishment and indignation. But, happily, a record of fact is a blessing desired by everybody; scarcely any periodical is without some such record, and thus scarcely any unstamped periodical abstains from breaking the law. Nor is this the only part of the law universally broken; comments on news, if given oftener than once in twenty-six days, require a stamp, but every weekly paper gives comments on news, and is therefore amenable to the law. Yet more—every registered newspaper is bound to stamp every copy, but the Stamp-office sends a list to Parliament of

fifty-one which omit to do so. Is the law, then, a dead letter? Not entirely. The hairdresser who operated on Morleena Kenwig, in *Nicholas Nickleby*, drew the line at a baker, and kept the coalheaver at a distance from the genteel temple of easy shaving. In like manner Mr. Thomas Keogh draws the line at a Cockney, and will not suffer bumpkin to violate the sanctity of the law. John Cassel, and Charles Dickens, and Messrs. Bradbury and Evans, and Mr. Francis, live within the sound of Bow-bell; therefore the *Freeholder*, and the *Narrative*, and *Punch*, and the *Athenaeum* may stamp or not, as they please. Mr. Batty lives in Fleet-street, and may publish his slips from the *English Churchman*, ostentatiously advertizing the number of thousand copies which he has sold, and for every one of which he is liable to a fine of £20; but Mr. Bucknall lives in Stroud, the *Norwich Operative* and Messrs. Jarrold in Norwich, and Mr. Beaumont in Wakefield. These are bumpkins, and must be put down. Such is the operation of the law, but such is not its intention and spirit. The real intention of the law was to discourage working men from studying politics. The poor reader is aimed at, and the rich capitalist is not allowed to assist in instructing him. The law, though so frequently broken, has as yet proved an efficient barrier against a good cheap political press; the middle classes have their dear political papers, and eke out the smallness of their number with the scraps that are permitted to find their way into cheap publications: the working man is left to grope his way in the dark as best he may.

This then is a case of a disabling law, and we recommend that it should be enforced on every one with a view to its repeal. True, no private person is allowed to prosecute, but anybody may point out to the Board of Inland Revenue, at Somerset-house, some instance in which the law is broken. The illegal publishers are a privileged class, and should be made to feel that their position is an unfair one; those who have any right feeling will demand the extension of their privileges to the whole community, as the *Athenaeum* and the *Freeholder* have done, and as the *Household Narrative* and *Punch* ought to do. Publishers who are inclined to speculate should write to Somerset-house and try to get the authorities there to define the exact degree of latitude allowed. Are jokes news if not contained in *Joe Miller*? Are lies to be considered as unobjectionable, or are they to come under the head of news? What distance from the Post-office disqualifies a publisher from breaking the law? These and other questions should be put as seriously and respectfully as possible; and the answers made public. And to conclude, we think some attempt should be made to get an answer from the head of the board; Mr. Thomas Keogh has so stultified himself and his office by his contradictory letters, and more contradictory practice, that we should like some higher authority to be applied to. Mr. John Wood has the character of a sound financier, and a man of sense and of liberal views. If the censorship of the press is to continue, let him take it in hand himself, and not trust it to his subordinates. It is the usual practice of the Board of Inland Revenue to acknowledge and answer communications; in another part of our paper will be found a memorial from the Newspaper Stamp Abolition Committee to the Board, which has as yet been unacknowledged. If Mr. John Wood cannot answer it, he had better hand it over to Lord John Russell, and let him try his hand as the censor of the press: if the office is to exist, it ought to be in the hands of a responsible person, and who so fit as the head of the Church and Defender of the Protestant faith? Let us hope that when the Premier enters on his new function, he will draw the line more justly than his predecessors, and that he will put the rich and the poor on an equality so far as the newspaper laws are concerned; if he do this, he must abolish the restrictions altogether; for the rich will not, and the poor ought not, to bear them any longer.

### ADULTERATION OF COFFEE.

MR. GRANTLEY BERKELEY seems determined to lose no time in stirring up Ministers to a sense of what they owe to the country. On Wednesday evening, he questioned Sir Charles Wood as to what he intended to do in regard to the adulteration of coffee; whether any protection is to be given to the honest merchant against the fraudulent dealer in chicory and disguised parsnips? Sir Charles replied, as one might have anticipated, that he did not intend to interfere with the chicory trade; upon

which Mr. Grantley Berkeley declared his intention to introduce a bill on the subject at an early period. We hope he will fulfil his promise in such a manner as to expose the mischievous *laissez faire* policy of Ministers on this, as on many other questions.

Most people imagine that the cost of an article to the consumer consists merely of the expense of production, and the profits of the wholesale and retail dealers. This is a very great mistake. In addition to these various items, the buyer, if he want a genuine article, must pay for the cost of verifying the fact of its having that degree of goodness which he requires. Were shopkeeping generally conducted on fair and honourable principles, the cost of verification would not form a very large item in the cost of any article. But the universal custom among purchasers of making *cheapness* the first object, when they are utterly ignorant as to the *goodness* of the commodity, leaves the honest dealer with so few customers that he is forced to charge a much higher price for his wares than he would require were competition less desperate. This is signally the case with coffee. From a number of careful experiments made recently, and admirably related in the *Lancet*, it appears that a very large portion of the cheap stuff sold by dealers in coffee under the attractive titles of "Parisian Coffee," "Superb Coffee," "Rich Drinking Coffee," "Delicious Family Coffee," and many other equally seductive labels, is almost all composed of chicory, roasted corn, and burnt potatoes. In some cases "the Delicious Family Coffee," when subjected to analysis, was found to contain only one-fourth part of coffee; the remaining three-fourths consisted of chicory or roasted corn. Out of thirty-four houses in London, from which samples were purchased for analysis, there were only two which sold unadulterated coffee. All the rest, from their wish to undersell, mixed other cheaper substances along with the coffee, sometimes in the proportion of four parts of the spurious article to one of the genuine.

When the coffee-adulteration question is brought before Parliament again, we shall, no doubt, be told by Sir Charles Wood that the matter lies wholly between the buyer and the seller, and that Government cannot interfere. If any person chooses to buy burnt potatoes, decayed parsnips, roasted beans, and chicory, with a slight mixture of coffee, for his matutinal beverage, no one can prevent him. And to this we should not object, if the dealers in those articles would honestly state what it is they are selling under the name of "Delicious Family Coffee." There is no more harm in selling chicory, parsnips, or roasted potatoes than in selling Ceylon coffee. The crime consists in selling one article under the name of another, to the material damage of the stomachs and purses of those who are cheated. The right way to put down the dishonest trade in coffee and all other adulterated articles of food would be by the appointment of a public prosecutor in London, aided by several public chemists, whose duty it should be to analyze such samples as were brought to them duly authenticated. Only let Government adopt this method, accompanying it with a prompt publication of the names of all who are found guilty of poisoning, or any way adulterating the goods they sell, and we shall soon see an improvement in the health of the people. The subject is well worth the attention of the sanitary reformers, for it is impossible that the mass of the people can enjoy good health if the food they consume is more or less damaged by unwholesome and, in some instances, poisonous adulterations.

#### THE ROYAL VIEW AND THE REAL VIEW.

"HAPPINESS" sheds its golden light on England and her sister kingdoms. Queen Victoria meets Parliament with the most cheering reports: "The state of the commerce and manufactures of the United Kingdom," says the speech dictated by Ministers, "has been such as to afford general employment to the labouring classes." Bound by less reserve, but speaking with high and authentic inspiration, the movers and seconders of the address convey a yet more glowing picture. "The receipts of the revenue have far exceeded the most sanguine expectations," says the Earl of Effingham, "and there can be no doubt that the great body of the people are in the enjoyment of all the comforts and necessities of life." Lord John Russell rules the destinies of England, and the result is described by Mr. Peto—"the working men

of this country now dine as working men should dine, on edibles furnished by the butcher."

This is the royal picture of England—busy, thriving, happy, and dining on edibles furnished by the butcher. But are we looking at veritable England? Is not "the season" beginning, with its picturesque and dramatic entertainments, its moving dioramas, theatre, opera, and Parliament; and have we not here the Parliamentary proscenium before us; with its gilding and red velvet, its state and happy choruses—happy, at least, to the front view?

But look behind—go home among the working classes; follow the poor supernumeraries to their lodgings—if lodgings they have. Even the speech has a glimpse of this hinder question—a break in the golden atmosphere of its sun. "I have to lament, however, the difficulties which are still felt by that important body among my people who are owners and occupiers of land"—and "the labourers"; but it is Lord Stanley that adds those words, not the authors of the speech. The speech says that the difficulty will pass away—and, perhaps, it will—"on a day not yet fixed." It has lasted the life of some amongst us; and bare free trade is dealing rather harshly with "slow" farmers just now, and with a few that are not slow. The farmers are taking their choice of evils—some are leaving the land, and going into the towns—to crowd trades *there*; others are going to America; others into the *Gazette*, or the workhouse, or both—for both are impartially open. Some no doubt will remain to take their chance *after* the storm. Meanwhile, what are the still larger class doing?—what is the condition of the labourers? They and their families number some 3,500,000 souls. Will the Earl of Effingham pretend to say that this "large body of the People" is "in the enjoyment of all the comforts and necessities of life"? If we may rely upon the information furnished by the Poor Law Commissioners, the great mass of the agricultural labourers are forced to live on much coarser food than what is furnished to paupers. Surely Mr. Peto will not say that that is the way in which working men should live. He tells us that the number of cattle slaughtered in England last year was greater by 60,000 than the number slaughtered in 1849. But the agricultural labourers have nothing to do with that. They seldom or never taste butcher's meat. Many of them cannot even get potatoes and bread enough for themselves and their families.

And yet, notwithstanding all this suffering on the part of the great body of the people, the wealth of the nation is rapidly increasing. The total amount of incomes above £150 per annum, derived from trades and professions, has increased from £21,247,600 in 1812, to £56,990,000 in 1850. Among that class alone there has been nearly a threefold increase in those forty-eight years. They are not a very numerous class, and yet their aggregate income is now £35,742,400 more than it was in 1812. Now this is highly satisfactory as regards that prosperous class. But how has it been all the while with the poorer and larger sections of the community? The total amount of wages paid to all the agricultural labourers in Great Britain, instead of double or treble, is not even equal to what it was in 1812. If we take another large class of the community—the handloom weavers—we find that the total amount of wages paid to them is not one-half of what it was in 1812! Or, worse than all, if we take huge and constantly-increasing town classes—needlewomen at starvation wages; half employed and under-paid tailors and shoemakers; artisans of all kinds out of work; hordes of agricultural labourers driven from the soil by calculating landlords, parsimonious Poor-law Guardians, grasping and incapable, or unfortunate and needy farmers. Of this class, we shall find probably not less than 100,000 in London alone, many with families depending upon them. Are they all "in the enjoyment of the comforts and necessities of life"? Would Lord Effingham or Mr. Peto like to see this host—because they might have such a review if they liked; and "seeing is believing."

#### WHAT THE GREAT EXHIBITION WILL DO FOR US.

A CONSIDERABLE quantity of confused talk is everywhere going on about the grand effects that the Great Exhibition is to produce. We very much suspect that, if all this talk were subjected to a rigorous analysis, with a view to ascertain what it is worth, a large portion of it would be found to consist of mere fondness for repeating commonplaces. Thinking men, so far as we see, are by no

means disposed, like the newspapers, to go into ungovernable enthusiasms at the mere notion of the coming Exhibition. Their anticipations from the show are more moderate and less earnestly stated.

For technical visitors—engineers, manufacturers, and the like—the Exhibition will doubtless fulfil a most useful function. What a great cattle-show is to the cattle-breeder, this aggregation of illustrative specimens of the skill and industry of all nations will be to enterprising men in the whole range of skilled British professions. This is a very distinct and appreciable aspect of the great coming Exhibition; and we have not seen any extravagant exaggeration of it. Very probably, indeed, the state of the world's market, and the list of British manufactures will sustain changes of moment by the event which is about to take place.

But this forms but a quiet and unobtrusive element in the general mass of speculation as to the effects of the Great Exhibition. It is as a show for the people of all nations that we hear it most frequently represented. Now, any one who has spent an hour or two in the Polytechnic Institution, in the British Museum, or in any other collection of miscellaneous articles of curiosity, must know how little of real pleasure or profit, and how much of positive weariness and bewilderment, shows of this kind are capable of affording to the untechnical and merely amusement-seeking mind. It is the fashion to go to such places; public reports tell with satisfaction of the crowds that pass through the galleries of the Museum; and dutiful papas and mammas take their children there because there is so much instruction to be got; but the truth is, unless one goes with a specific object to such places, with a specific question, as it were, to ask, a visit to them is the reverse of a pleasure; and to offer the British Museum or the Polytechnic to young masters and misses as a substitute at Christmas for the genuine fun of a pantomime or an extravaganza, is paternal sciolism and shabbiness in the extreme. And so with the Great Exhibition. In its very nature, we believe, this will not be the kind of show to regale or excite the popular imagination. The portions of it that shall bear a resemblance to Art-galleries, will, indeed, afford satisfaction, and so will those that illustrate curious processes of mechanism or manufacture—just as, in the British Museum, the Sculpture-rooms and the Egyptian-room, where the mummies lay hold of the popular heart, are best liked; but we fear a great proportion of the twenty miles' circuit, which Mr. Paxton says the Exhibition is to consist of, will be devoted to a distracting miscellany of articles such as are huddled together in the Ethnographical-room of the British Museum; and, to understand the effects of such an exhibition on the popular nerves and countenance, let any reader but go to the said room in the Museum and see how much pleasure he can get in it. The expression of face with which one leaves that room, after a conscientious survey of the cases, is positively suicidal. And if, as we expect, some miles of the Great Exhibition shall be but a colossal edition of the Ethnographical-room in the British Museum, we venture to say that, while the Exhibition lasts, the bad humour of London, and the number of scoldings inflicted at dinner by husbands on wives, will be increased by a very appreciable percentage. Of course we do not find fault with Ethnographical-rooms, Polytechnic Institutions, and the like. They are capital things in their way; but, when we want pleasure, commend us to something else. And it is as a show got up for the pleasure of the People that we are here considering the Grand Exhibition.

There is one safety for the Exhibition considered in this light—it will be the pretext for, and the convenient centre of, a great festival. Every means should be adopted for enhancing the importance of this aspect of the Exhibition. In the Polytechnic Institution whatever of real pleasure arises, results, we should say, from the festal disposition brought into the house by the visitors themselves, who are usually making a holiday of it at any rate, as well as from the arrangements judiciously adopted in the Institution itself to coat over the dry with the interesting and festal. And were one allowed to romp in the Ethnographical-room of the British Museum, or to eat nuts in it and pop the shells at the most inviting noses within vision, one might do tolerably well even there. Now, here the Great Exhibition will have such advantages that, with due care, the whole thing may be rendered unexceptionably pleasure-giving. The beauty of the Park itself, if the weather is fine; the mere



crowding of the people; the diversity of physiognomies, costumes, and languages; the dinner-giving and specifiying that there will be all round the Park for a radius of five or six miles—all these extraneous circumstances, combined with what of the really interesting and picturesque the Exhibition itself may furnish, and with possible arrangements for abridging and simplifying the ingress and egress, and the trouble of inspection, may produce an amount of festal emotion on the occasion sufficient to burn up and make a jest of all the paucity of rationality of the affair with its attendant disagreeabilities. We hope it may be so; but, in order that it may be so, let all concerned distinctly lay it down as a maxim beforehand, that the chief popular value of the Exhibition will lie, not in its being a gigantic Ethnographical-room or Polytechnic Institution, but in the possibility of its being made a noble and generous festival, after the type, as the scholars would tell us, of the Panathenæic games.

After all, the chief solid advantages of the Exhibition will probably be those that are collateral and unexpected. Already we have one such advantage in the introduction of a totally new mode of architecture. Another likely result of the Exhibition will be that it will give birth to a host of new extensions and applications of the club-principle, in the matters of board and lodging, travelling, &c. A decided disadvantage—should the fears of certain croakers take effect—will be the generation of new forms of disease, by the over-crowding, and the unwonted interchange, as Reichenbach would say, of the animal electricities. To set against this, however, we have the prospect of a vast number of Polyglot marriages—Frenchmen, Germans, and Turks, with the daughters of our City-men; and the sons of our City-men with fair foreigneresses. And, lastly, there will be the training that John Bull will receive in the conception that the world is really a globe, and that there are lots of different kinds of fellows upon it, some of whom are not swindlers, though they do wear moustachios and beards, and say "Pain" or "Pase" instead of "Bread."

#### THE NEWSPAPER DUTY.

A QUERY from Mr. Scholefield, on Thursday, brought out the information from Sir Charles Wood that the Board of Inland Revenue has not abandoned its suit against Mr. Charles Dickens for daring to publish *The Household Narrative of Current Events*. But will it venture to prosecute him for openly braving the law? A few weeks will show. In reply to Mr. Bright, who, very provokingly, wished to know whether unstamped publications may now be issued without danger of prosecution, Sir Charles Wood could give no satisfactory reply. The board is evidently bewildered as to what course it ought to take. The wisest step would be to give up the stamp duty at once, before allowing itself to be openly beaten.

#### PETO TO SEEK.

MAKING up his picture of a happy country, Mr. Peto quotes the statistics of the City Chamberlain of Glasgow, as given in the *Leader* a fortnight ago, but for a different effect. From the figures, it appears that the number of cattle slaughtered in Glasgow during the last three years was as follows:—

1848.	1849.	1850.
132,150	161,327	185,255

As we then stated, this is perfectly conclusive as regards the advantages of free trade. But compare the number of cattle slaughtered in 1850, the most prosperous of those three years, with the returns for 1822, as given in the *Leader*, and we find, after making allowance for increase of population, that the average consumption of butcher meat in Glasgow in 1850—the prosperous year—was only about one-half of what it was in 1822. Can Mr. Peto explain this?

#### THE PROGRESS OF TEMPERANCE.

FROM a Parliamentary return published last session, giving an account of the quantities of Foreign and British spirits, beer, wine, and malt retained for home consumption in the United Kingdom in each of the fifteen years ending in 1849, it appears that, after making due allowance for the increase of population, a very decided falling off has taken place in all those articles, with the exception of brandy, on which there is an increase, but nothing at all compared with the decrease in all the other items. In rum and British spirits the falling off is nearly 6,500,000 gallons, allowing for the increase of population, between 1836 and 1849. In beer the decrease is 3,700,000 barrels; and in wine 1,200,000 gallons. This is encouraging to the advocates of temperance. It shows that they have made consider-

able progress in that direction. Nor must it be supposed that the falling off in the consumption of whisky, gin, and beer is owing to the want of means to purchase on the part of the working classes. During those fifteen years a very rapid increase has taken place in the consumption of coffee, tea, and cocoa, as will be seen by comparing the quantities taken for home consumption in the three years ending in 1838, with what was taken in the three years ending January 5th, 1850:—

	Coffee.	Tea.	Cocoa.
	lb.	lb.	lb.
1836	23,295,046	36,574,004	1,084,170
1837	24,947,690	39,142,236	1,130,168
1838	26,346,961	30,625,206	1,416,613
1848	37,441,373	46,314,821	3,079,198
1849	37,077,546	48,734,789	2,919,591
1850	34,431,074	50,024,688	3,233,372

The only unsatisfactory item in this table is the decrease in the consumption of coffee since 1848. Instead of the genuine article paying its fair quota of tax to the revenue, and furnishing a wholesome beverage to the consumer, an article is sold extensively under the name of coffee, consisting of burnt rye, parsnips, and chicory. These counterfeits pay no duty, and are not very wholesome when used as substitutes for coffee.

#### SOCIAL REFORM.

EPISTOLE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM.  
No. XXVIII.—POOR-LAW QUESTIONS.

TO THORNTON HUNT.

January 1, 1851.

MY DEAR MR. HUNT,—Practically carrying out as it is does the principle of the Right to Labour,—the guaranteeing by society to every man subsistence, in the full and adequate sense of the word, in return for Labour done,—your plan in the main cannot but meet with my cordial assent. To separate the Vagrant Law from the Poor Law, a thing so necessary that it is surprising in these days that it should still have to be done—to secure real and bonâ fide aid to the sick and aged, a duty so plain that it would have seemed difficult to find arguments to oppose it—to secure to each man the means of gaining a livelihood by his Labour—these all appear to me to be the plainest deductions from the most simple principles of justice. But, though thus agreeing entirely with the main points of your plan, I would wish to ask one or two questions as to the manner in which you propose to carry it out.

First, do you mean the rate to fall on both Land and Money-Capital, or on the former alone? For it would seem to me that such a rate ought to fall equally on all kinds of capital—inasmuch as the worker is as much kept from his share of the profits of his own labour by the manufacturer, as he is from his share of the land by the landowner. You may say that the landowner holds a monopoly of the very land itself, from which all production originally springs, and on which it depends; while the manufacturer only monopolizes the profits of the secondary processes of production—and this is perfectly true, and leads no doubt to many and important considerations; but in the matter in hand I cannot but think that the manufacturer is bound to contribute his share to the Poor Fund equally with the owner of the land.

Secondly, as to the mode of levying the rate: should it be a National Rate, locally distributed, or a rate locally collected as well as distributed? I am much inclined to prefer the former in this case, as in that of a National Education Rate; because the poorest districts are those from which the heaviest rate would in the other case be demanded, while they are of course those least able to pay; besides that a National rate removes all temptation to drive off the poor from any particular district in order to escape having to pay. I should have had no doubt that your view on this point agreed with mine, were it not for one sentence in your last letter, when, speaking of the Central Board, you say that it "would apportion the quota to be paid by each district according to the amount of pauperism originating in each district."

And, lastly, I would ask you whether you propose to admit all applicants to share this fund, or to give to the Local Boards, or any other authority, any power of discrimination on that point, in order to prevent more persons becoming thus employed by society than society could, in a proprietary condition, find real employment for. It is most needful that the labour done should be real; and till great changes which, however certain are some way off, have taken place, society could not find

such employment, at all events in agriculture, for an unlimited number of persons.

Believe me, ever yours sincerely, G. R.

Feb. 3, 1851.

MY DEAR G. R.—Your questions came more promptly than my reply has met them: they found me undergoing a relapse, and since I have once more regained my working faculties the two letters that I have written were more pressed as to time. Not more important; for I regard the Poor Law as being, in our transition state, the very basis of an industrial system. If it were rendered complete, it might be the lever for lifting Society out of the degraded state into which industry has sunk; and I can hardly tell you how glad I am to see men of your stamp grasp the subject with such thorough understanding. You have, I think, anticipated my answers; but I am glad to render the points clearer.

Assessment.—The rate should fall on all kinds of real or accumulated property, for the reason which you have mentioned, for those which have been so well explained by W. E. Forster, and for two further cognate reasons which occur to me at the moment. First, all accumulated property is produce, and partakes of the restriction imposed upon the land against the free access of the labourer. Secondly, the laws of property, trade, and labour have all conspired to fortify the accumulator at the expense of the labourer. On both accounts a large debt is due to the labourer, over and above the obligation to compensate labour for the loss of free access to the land, and to secure it that freedom which has been given only to trade.

Levy.—Numbers would favour a reform of the Poor Law, if they were assured that a due proportion of the burden were thrown upon those landowners or employers who neglect their duty of giving employment. A great objection is felt to placing the good landlord on the same level with the bad landlord. This difficulty was much discussed in the debates on the Irish Poor Law and Labour Rate during the years of scarcity: it was objected that you must not make the good landlord pay wages and poor-rates too. On the other hand, it is quite conceivable that a good administration of industry might enable the agriculturists or the employers of a particular district almost to extinguish pauperism. If it were possible, it would be desirable to make the burden fall locally in a direct ratio with the origination of pauperism. But the objections already urged against the law of settlement might militate against such an arrangement; and it is not to be denied that a rate levied equally over the whole country would tend in the same direction. It would at least check the disposition to drive labourers off the land, in order to avoid poor rates. You may remember, however, that the law which I contemplate would be partly or entirely self-supporting: the labour of the paupers replacing the rates, or benefiting the district. Now, I think it would be quite possible that any excessive balance of expenditure might be charged by a Central Board upon the district in which it occurred; leaving the district to assess the property rateably, and to elect the officers locally administering the laws. You would thus obtain the local motives for thrift and efficient administration, without the motives which now oppress or exile the labourer.

Right of Applicants.—I would admit the claim of all applicants as a matter of right; discretion being left with the local administrators to test the correctness of the claim. I believe it would "pay" society in every sense of the word, to give the freest and amplest medical relief to all who need it: the cost would be compensated by checking the spread of disease, and by diminishing one cause of pauperism—physical helplessness. The aged are supported by Society, in one way or other; and without increased cost to Society, the comforts of aged poor might be incalculably increased by combining aggregate resources with personal freedom. The onus would lie with the applicant to prove, in the one case that he was sick, and in the other case that he was superannuated; on failure of proof, the application would be refused; on completion of proof, it would be admitted.

I would propose that the claim of the able-bodied should be admitted as a claim to labour. The check against undue application would be of two kinds. The first check would be the nature of the labour to be given: speaking generally, it should consist of the simpler kinds prevalent in the district; but it should be arranged on the principle of rendering it the most advantageous in the first place to the district; and in the second place to the public at large. Still speaking generally, in respect both of

time and place, the different kinds of unemployed labour in the country would have an approximate proportion to the ordinary distribution of employments: the labour of the able-bodied, fairly applied, never fails to produce more than is needed by the labourer; therefore, were any considerable amount of able-bodied labour applied under the administration of public industry, with proper distribution of employments, it could scarcely fail to support itself. By a consolidation of the workhouse system, the labour of one district would supply the wants of the rest; for example, in devoting the public labour of each district mainly to typical employments, Manchester, Leeds, Nottingham, Northampton, Sheffield, and Aylesbury, might supply each other with cotton shirting, cloth, stockings, shoes, implements, and corn; perhaps London might supply the tailors and shirt-makers. Each district would supply its own carpenters, masons, &c. Again, there is scarcely a place that would not be benefited by local improvements—aggregate drainage, roads and pathways, and the like. Now, the coarsest sort of work is not the most attractive; of course no applicant could be admitted to public work without submitting to strict controul as to hours, diligence, and regularity. The wages should be sufficient—thoroughly so; but should be given solely for work done. There can be little doubt that the greater freedom, if not profit, of labour elsewhere would check the labourers in applying for public work. One of the most instructive facts ascertained by the experiment of the Sheffield farm is, that the labourer prefers the farm-work to idling in the town workhouse; and yet that, as soon as relief presents itself in the shape of work, he becomes more diligent in finding work elsewhere.

The second check would consist in the function of a local officer to accuse, before the proper tribunal, any one who should commit an act of vagrancy—refusal to work, indiscipline, malicious spoiling of work, fraud upon the poor relief, tramping, &c. Taking all things into account, I am inclined to think that, although farm operations in the agricultural districts, by the ordinary methods, might not furnish sufficient real labour to employ an indefinite number of paupers so as to pay locally, yet that, by combining the wants and resources of several districts, it would be quite possible to render the system of public work nearly self-supporting, and quite compensatory to society.

I need not point out to you, my dear G. R., how nearly such an arrangement would have the effect which the working classes desire when they call for "a minimum of wages;" while it could not be followed by the disasters attendant on restrictions of trade and attempts at impossibilities. Nor need I show you how it would serve to exterminate the most wretched kinds of employment, such as needlewoman's work, without any measure so idle and mischievous as direct prohibition. It would secure to humanity its right to subsistence *through labour*; and it would powerfully tend to cut off those branches of labour which are most unproductive.

Believe me, ever yours most sincerely,

THORNTON HUNT.

**GOVERNMENT PATRONAGE TO LITERARY MEN.**—The cheapest encouragement of literature a Government could give, would be to select, if not all commissioners of inquiry, at least all compilers of public reports, from among the literary men of the country, paying them reasonable salaries by the year, or according to the work done. Thus a social literature would be organized and fostered; literary men would have a means of support; and pure literature would be left in uncrustian freedom to its own development.—*North British Review*, No. 27.

**PATERNAL GOVERNMENTS.**—We protest we are sick of the thought of our national cold-heartedness in all those great opportunities of action for the good of Europe, which God, these three years past, has been throwing before us. If there be one reflection which more than another must necessarily present itself to a right mind reviewing the history of continental Europe during the last three years, it is the reflection of the magnanimity, the honesty, the mercy, the enduring heroism of the chiefs of the party of the movement, as contrasted with the poltroonery, the mendacity, the cruelty, the systematic jesuitism of almost all the leaders and almost all the advocates of the cause of tyranny. We except no country. If the advocates of despotism in this country have not been cowardly, mendacious, cruel, and jesuitic in act, they have been cowardly, mendacious, cruel, and jesuitic with tongue and with pen. In the *Times* and in the *Quarterly Review* assertions have again and again been made regarding the Italian movement in general, and the conduct of the Roman republic in particular, the like of which, if hazarded in the affairs of daily life, would cause the slanderer to be cut at all the clubs, and excluded from honourable society.—*British Quarterly Review*.

## Literature.

Critics are not the legislators, but the judges and police of literature. They do not make laws—they interpret and try to enforce them.—*Edinburgh Review*.

Is it not enough to make publishers and readers and historians and club gossips appreciate the old myth of Tantalus to tell them, as we now tell them, that Sir ROBERT PEELE has left an autobiography written in his own hand, paged, and ready for the press; yet, from "scruples of delicacy," many years must elapse before it can be published? It is enough to make one doubt the virtue of delicacy! It is enough to make one wish the Living whom these scruples point at were removed to a better world! An autobiography of PEELE, with the secret history of our own times, would be cheaply purchased by the sacrifice of a few "political characters"! But there is no help for it: we must learn patience, hoping merely that we shall live to read the book.

The sad news of Mrs. SHELLEY's death throws the mind back into that stirring time when her father, GODWIN, and her mother, noble MARY WOLSTONECRAFT, were outraging the respectabilities by earnest utterance of audacities in speculation which now seem incapable of alarming even the timid—for the persecuted audacity of one day becomes the commonplace of to-morrow—and recalls her illustrious husband, the most Christian-hearted man of whom that epoch gives us any intimation, PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY! To the illustration of parentage, Mrs. SHELLEY added that of being the author of *Frankenstein, The Last Man, Lodore*, &c. *Frankenstein* is one of those books that become the parent of whole generations of romances.

In the number of the *North British Review* just out there is a remarkable paper on *Literature and the Labour Question*, which contains more suggestive thought than anything we have yet seen on this subject. There is also an excellent article on *Neander*, an interesting account of ARTHUR HALLAM and his *Remains* (privately printed), a foolish paper on the *Social Position of Woman*, wherein the writer believes he settles the question by referring to the Bible! and chooses to contemplate the growing tendency of literature and thought towards a more equitable adjustment of woman's position "as one of the odd aberrations of the popular intellect which alternate with periods of common sense." If the writer will study the history of Europe, he will find that, so far from this tendency being an aberration, it is visible as an *increasing* tendency from the very first—that women have become more and more emancipated from the bondage in which their physical inferiority places them among nations who only regard physical power, and that, with enlarging conceptions of freedom generally, have come enlarged conceptions of the relation of the two sexes.

The *British Quarterly* is always worth attentive reading. The present number contains biographical articles on BEM and BUFFON, a delightful paper on *The Chemistry of the Sunbeam*, and some noteworthy matter on the *University Commission*. The article on *Italy, Germany, and England* shows grasp of the subject and vigour of thought, animated by strong political feelings. The *Papacy* question is treated with ability, and is interesting as expressing the Nonconformist view of the matter; but we wish, on such a subject, the editor had trusted no pen less worthy than his own. There would have been more hard hitting, and the side blows would have battered against us; but we like hard hitting: there is nothing like having an antagonist whom you must respect!

Fraser this month is charming—he generally is. *London* in 1851 is really worth considering; nothing can be more delightful than the *Naturalist's Note-Book*, or more searching than the critique on Lord Holland's *Reminiscences*. The *Scramble*

among the Pyrenees is written with gusto; and there is much truth in the sarcasms of the *Age of Veneer*.

Leigh Hunt's *Journal* keeps up its pleasant character, and it may be interesting to many if we tell them that the editor is printing in its pages an unpublished play, full of exquisite dramatic writing. CARLYLE gives us a glimpse of Two Hundred and Fifty Years Ago; R. H. HORNE, a beautiful thought in two stanzas; and VINCENT LEIGH HUNT (the editor's youngest son) makes, we believe, his debut in print with a touching sonnet on a *Deformed Child*.

### NEANDER'S LIFE OF CHRIST.

*The Life of Jesus Christ in its Connection and Historical Development.* By Augustus Neander. Translated from the Fourth German Edition. By John M'Clistock and Charles L. Blumenthal. (Bohn's Standard Library.) H. G. Bohn.

GERMAN theologians are the terror of "good old English orthodoxy." Nor is this without reason. The theological instinct is unerring; call the perfume of corruption by what scented name you will the "theologic Nose" smells it out; and good comfortable English orthodoxy when it sees German theology nearing our shores cannot have its alarms quieted by any amount of panegyric upon German erudition, deep piety, or philosophic elevation. Orthodoxy knows that erudition and philosophy are dangerous allies. Better leave them alone. Better keep orthodoxy quiet, comfortable, uninquiring. When Dr. Tholuck was in England it greatly surprised him to find that none of the theologians had read Strauss, and he quite startled Chalmers into the necessity of doing so. In Germany every one had read, many answered him. But these were "German theologians"—that makes all the difference!

We have said it, and we repeat it, English orthodoxy, if it wish to preserve itself, should keep up its instinctive dread of German theologians. We are quite frank. We may hurt our own cause by the assertion, yet we make it, and will take *Neander's Life of Christ*, as an example. No one will gainsay his piety, truthfulness, enormous erudition. As a champion of the faith he is everywhere regarded with respect. Strauss himself, with noble candour, avows his admiration for the man, and avows that this book has caused him to modify some points in his own. Yet we believe that Neander's very excellence is fatal: his truthfulness, simplicity, and sincerity prevent his employing that theological machinery by means of which a more adroit polemic gains the day. He admits too much. He is by far too candid. From his own book the philosopher may confute him, even better than from other sources. We shall endeavour to show this anon; meanwhile we desire to place a few words of introduction indicative of the tone of German theology.

Rationalism is the word which most comprehensively expresses modern theology; for rationalism is by no means confined to the rationalists: it has affected even the most orthodox, as Neander confesses in his own case. Take two samples from the present work:—

"It is proper that I should say, however, that I go along with those who oppose 'creed-believers' (to use Schultz's term) so far as this, viz., that I do not subscribe to any of the existing symbols (except to the Apostles' Creed, which testifies to those fundamental facts of Christianity that are essential to the existence of the Christian Church) as an unconditional expression of my religious convictions."

And again, more decidedly:—

"It must be regarded as one of the greatest boons which the purifying process of Protestant theology in Germany has conferred upon faith as well as science, that the old, mechanical view of Inspiration has been so generally abandoned. That doctrine, and the forced harmonies to which it led, demanded a clerk-like accuracy in the evangelical accounts, and could not admit even the slightest contradictions in them; but we are now no more compelled to have recourse to subtleties against which our sense of truth rebels. In studying the historical connection of our Saviour's life and actions by the application of an unfettered criticism, we reach a deeper sense in many of his sayings than the bonds of the old dogmatism would have allowed."

But our theologians clearly see that if you give up direct Inspiration, if you once renounce the validity of the letter to trust in "criticism" and "interpretation," you ruin the authority of the Bible by bringing it under the same category as other human works, to be tested by the same methods. At the same time people who are not theologians clearly see that the letter *cannot* be maintained, because it is in flat contradiction to



positive science. The new doctrine of Inspiration, then, is a sanctuary into which affrighted dogmas fly for refuge. The letter of the law is perforce given up.

Early in the eighteenth century, Germany began a crusade against the letter. There were three parties of Rationalists: the first wanted to reduce all Religion to morality; the second to prove that Christianity was pure Deism; the third party—among them Semler, followed by Paulus, Eichhorn, Plank, and others—tried to evolve what they called a primitive Christianity. Orthodoxy, thus beset, had to besir herself. The tremendous effect of Lessing's *Wolfenbützel Fragments*, and the spiritualizing impulse given by Goethe, was followed by the peculiar results of Schelling's and Hegel's philosophy—to reach a climax in Strauss, Bruno Bauer, and Feuerbach. Even Schleiermacher, the greatest name on the orthodox side, was so bitten with Rationalism, that Bishop Thirlwall hurt his reputation in England by translating him.

Arrived at this pass it was quite evident that orthodoxy could no longer blindly defend the letter. Attacked by philosophy, by philosophy it retaliated. Compelled to shift its ground, it boldly took up a new position. It fled, as we before hinted, to a sanctuary; let us hope that if driven out of this it will find no other place of refuge!

In Neander's *Life of Christ*, we have the most complete exposition of German orthodoxy, in all the fulness and with all the authority of one who justly boasted that "whatever appears to me to be true, or most probable, after candid and earnest inquiry with all reverence for the sacredness of the subject, I utter without looking at consequences. Whoever has a good work to do, must, as Luther says, let the devil's tongue run as it pleases." Neander, therefore, is a man we are delighted to do battle with; and he has himself pitched the camps where, without too much presumption, the *Leader* may oppose him. On all questions of erudition, on all topics of theological learning, we venture not to speak; our extremely unclerical training, and our unfeigned respect for him, equally enforce silence. But when he quits that ground to move upon the broad plains of philosophy, then we feel that our previous training has not altogether unfitted us for the combat. The lance may shiver in our hands against the breastplate of our antagonist, but at any rate we handle the weapons we have been taught to use.

Bearing in mind that the old doctrine of Inspiration is given up by Neander, and that he is prepared to meet Strauss and others on critical ground, let us now see the philosophical basis of his creed. It is nothing less than an appeal to that necessity of Faith which all admit as a general proposition, but which is illogically pressed by him into the service of a particular proposition. He thus beautifully expresses it:—

"It has been often said, that in order to true inquiry, we must take nothing for granted. Of late this statement has been reiterated anew, with special reference to the exposition of the *Life of Christ*. At the outset of our work we refuse to meet such a demand. To comply with it is impracticable; the very attempt contradicts the sacred laws of our being. We cannot entirely free ourselves from presuppositions, which are born with our nature, and which attach to the fixed course of progress in which we ourselves are involved. They control our consciousness whether we will or no; and the supposed freedom from them is, in fact, nothing else but the exchange of one set for another. Some of these presuppositions, springing from a higher necessity, founded in the moral order of the universe, and derived from the eternal laws of the Creator, constitute the very ground and support of our nature. From such we must not free ourselves.

"But we are ever in peril of exchanging these legitimate sovereigns of our spiritual being, against which nothing but arbitrary will can rebel, for the prepossessions of a self-created or traditional prejudice, which have no other than an arbitrary origin, and which rule by no better title than usurpation. But for this peril, the way of the science of life would be as safe as the way of life itself. Life moves on in the midst of such diversified and ever-commingling prepossessions, especially in our own time, which, torn by contraries (contraries, however, which subserve a higher wisdom by balancing each other), forms the period of transition to a new and better creation. On the one hand we behold efforts to bring the human mind again into bondage to the host of arbitrary prejudices which had long enough enslaved it; and, on the other, we see a justifiable protest against these prejudices running into the extreme of rejecting even those holy prepossessions which ought to rule our spiritual being, and which alone can offer it true freedom.

"What, then, is the duty of Science? Must she dismiss all prepossessions, and work out her task by unassisted thought? Far from it. From nothing nothing comes; the Father of spirits alone is a Creator. Empty indeed, is that enthusiasm which seeks only the mere sound of truth—abstract, formal truth. This absolute abnegation of all prepossessions would free the soul from those holy ties by which alone it can connect itself with its source—

the source of all truth—and comprehend it by means of its revelations in humanity. The created spirit cannot deny its dependence upon God, the only creative Spirit; and in its obvious destination to apprehend the revelation of God in creation, in nature, and in history. So, the work of science can only be to distinguish the prepossessions which an inward necessity constrains us to recognize, from such as are purely voluntary. Indeed, the healthfulness of our spiritual life depends upon our ridding ourselves of the latter, and, at the same time, yielding in lowliness and singleness of heart to the former, as the law of the Creator, as the means by which light from heaven may be conveyed to our minds. All that the intellect has to do in regard to these last, is to demonstrate their necessity, and to show that our being contradicts itself in rebelling against them."

This will command almost universal assent; as an argument upon which to ground our belief in a Deity it is quite philosophic. But we must say that, with regard to a belief in the divinity of Christ, this same proposition is totally inapplicable. To aver that belief in Christ, as the Son of God, is one of those presuppositions which are born with our nature, is to mistake the peculiar bias given to the mind by education for an external law of nature, and might be used, with equal force of argument, by a Hindoo or a Mahometan.

Thus, starting from the fact that we have within us a necessity of Faith, Neander assumes that the Faith in Christ is also a necessary part of our constitution; a mode of reasoning tantamount to saying that, because a cat can run, it must run up one particular street and no other. But the fallacy is masked to him by a phrase which Schleiermacher has made celebrated, viz., *Christian consciousness*—used by him

"To denote Christianity as an undeniable, self-revealing power, entering into the life of humanity; an immediate, internal power in the spiritual world, from which went forth, and is ever going forth, the regeneration of the life of man, and which produces phenomena which can be explained in no other way."

So that, besides an implanted belief in the Deity, we have, according to this scheme, an implanted belief in Christ. This we call a gigantic and gratuitous assumption—a violation of all logic. The question being, Why must I believe in the divinity of Christ? it is answered *Because* that belief is one of the necessary presuppositions of the human mind!

"It is shown to be a necessary and not a voluntary prepossession; first, because it satisfies a fundamental want of human nature, a want created by history, and foreshadowing its own fulfilment; and, secondly, because this view of Christ's person arose from the direct impression which his appearance among men made upon the eye-witnesses, and, through them, upon the whole human race. This image of Christ, which has always propagated itself in the consciousness of the Christian Church, originated in, and ever points back to, the revelation of Christ himself, without which, indeed, it could never have arisen. As man's limited intellect could never, without the aid of revelation, have originated the idea of God, so the image of Christ, of which we have spoken, could never have sprung from the consciousness of sinful humanity, but must be regarded as the reflection of the actual life of such a Christ."

We cannot hesitate to pronounce this reasoning a series of beggings of the question. Upon such methods every belief yet shared by a body of men must be accepted as correct. To show how completely Neander looks at the subject through his own prepossessions, let us call attention to his strange assertion that, without revelation, man's limited intellect could never have originated the idea of God. How, then, came the ancient Greeks by their idea of God? How the Hindoos? How the Chinese? The meaning which we believe to lie at the bottom of this phrase is, that the God of Revelation could never have been known to man except through Revelation: which is another example of his reasoning.

Neander having boldly assumed the divinity of Christ, and declared the assumption as irresistible as that of the Deity, proceeds to view all the incidents of the *Life* with reference to this one Fundamental Faith. Instead of proving the divinity of Christ by the historical evidence, he proves the historical evidence by its conformity with his fundamental assumption! Such logic will not suit the nineteenth century.

Neander—(strange as it may sound)—belongs properly to the Mystical school. He gives up the Letter; he retreats before hard Logic; his sanctuary is in Sentiment. This would very soon lead him to Spiritualism, were it not for certain dogmatic assumptions of orthodoxy. He avoids the conclusions which Reason would force upon him, by withdrawing into the vague region of "Christian consciousness." Hamann—one of the most remarkable of the German Mystics—said: "The pearl of Christianity is a life hidden in God, a

truth in Christ the Mediator, a power which consists neither in words and forms, nor in dogmas and outward acts; it cannot, therefore, be estimated by the common standards of logic or ethics." This renunciation of Reason—this assertion of a superior mode of estimating religious truth is the foundation of Mysticism, and is the guiding light to Neander, who distinctly says that the theologian needs "a spiritual mind, a deep acquaintance with divine things; and he must study with his heart as well as his head, unless he wishes his theology to be robbed of its salt by his criticism." All which is undeniably true; with this danger, however, that when the Heart undertakes to interpret dogmas the result is inevitably Mysticism. Take as an example the following upon Miracles:—

"Miracles belong to a region of holiness and freedom, to which neither experience, nor observation, nor scientific discovery can lead. There is no bridge between this domain and that of natural phenomena. Only by means of our inward affinity for this spiritual kingdom, only by hearing and obeying in the stillness of the soul, the voice of God within us, can we reach those lofty regions. If there be obstacles in our way, no science can remove them."

This is an evasion of the philosophic difficulty. It brings Sentiment to bridge over the chasms of Logic. But we doubt whether unbiased students will accept such answers.

This system of testing evidence by the light of presuppositions makes easy work of difficulties, e.g.:—

"John's Gospel, which contains the only consecutive account of the labours of Christ, arose in a very different way. It could have emanated from none other than that 'beloved disciple,' upon whose soul the image of the Saviour had left its deepest impress. So far from this Gospel's having been written by a man of the second century (as some assert), we cannot even imagine a man existing in that century so little affected by the contraries of his times and so far exalted above them. Could an age involved in perpetual contradictions, an age of religious materialism, anthropomorphism, and one-sided intellectualism, have given birth to a production like this, which bears the stamp of none of these deformities? How mighty must the man have been who, in that age, could produce from his own mind such an image of Christ as this? And this man, too, in a period almost destitute of eminent minds, remained in total obscurity!"

This is very loose historical criticism. Could such an age have produced a John? is an idle question; the true question is, *Did* it produce him? As to any profound dissimilarity existing between the intellectual tendencies of an age and one individual, the slightest survey of history will show that not to be at all unfrequent.

It would be easy to go through the volume and exhibit the operation of this system of testing points by presuppositions; but our limits warn us to restrict our examples to those already given. What we have arrived at may be thus summed up. Neander relinquishes the old dogma of Inspiration, and appeals for the truth of Christianity to the verdict of the Soul of man. In the Soul he finds an irresistible necessity for belief in a Deity; in Christian consciousness he finds an irresistible verdict in favour of the divinity of Christ. Being thus forced to believe Christ divine, he traces the manifestation of this truth in all the incidents of the life of Christ. It is evident that to any man having the belief already such an argument is superfluous; to any man not having that belief such an argument is powerless. So that, after all, orthodoxy has but an indifferent support from this great German theologian!

The danger is not confined to that loose logic. Neander is a "dangerous" writer, because his great qualities—which no polemical feeling on our part can prevent our acknowledging—give authority to certain ideas almost as unwelcome to orthodoxy as infidelity itself could be. Orthodoxy has no patience with her "candid friends." She abhors the thought of progress, "not knowing where it will stop." Judge, then, of the assistance she may expect from a theologian who teaches that—

"As the Christian life might assume these forms according to the individuality of each believer, Christian doctrine might also assume many different corresponding forms. It was, he maintains, no part of Christ's intention to confine the Christian life to one fixed and stereotyped rule, nor to confine Christian intelligence and thought to one fixed formula of religious doctrine. In both provinces of word and deed, the seminal principles out of which Christian life and doctrine were gradually to emerge, according to the law of historical development."

"He even maintains a kind of historical necessity for these different phases of Christian doctrine, believing that this process of development, when once begun, must advance, and that from these tendencies of different systems the harmonious representation of Christianity in its highest unity was to be gathered."

We quote those sentences from an article on Neander in the *North British Review* for February. Have we not justified the alarms of orthodoxy at the spread of German theology among our students?

#### SIR JAMES MACINTOSH.

*The Miscellaneous Works of Sir James Macintosh.* Complete in one volume. Longman and Co.

ALTHOUGH by no means rivalling the popularity of Macaulay or Sydney Smith, these miscellaneous writings of Macintosh are worthy of a place beside them on our shelves, and the present edition places them within very ordinary means. As the productions of a variously accomplished mind they will be esteemed; but as the productions of one who made a great figure in his time, the next generation will read them with a feeling of disappointment. Already Macintosh has grown old. We were struck with it in turning over the leaves of this edition, "dipping" into it as we cut; and a more attentive reading has confirmed the impression. The age has outstripped him in ideas; and that quality by which alone a great writer lives—the quality of style—Macintosh never could have laid claim to. Not that he was an inferior writer; very much the reverse. His periods were sonorous and well balanced, his diction elegant and chastened, his phrases clear and syntactical; and, according to Academic standards, he was an elegant stylist. But here where lay his excellence lay also his defect. The style was artificial not artistic. It had the last lingering echoes of that Johnsonianism and sesquipedalian magnificence which for so long sounded throughout English Literature. We do not say that it had the mechanical uniformity of antithesis, and "balanced period" which made style from Johnson to Robertson fatiguing; Macintosh had caught something of the impetus of Burke, something also of the studied negligence of Dugald Stewart. But the characteristic of Macintosh's style is that it is artificial—and has not the artifice of our day, so that it seems as old to us as the costume of 1815. It is essentially a Latin style: Latin in its diction, Latin in its construction. Judged according to that standard it is elegant, eloquent, clear, and often massive.

In respect of subject-matter he is in no better condition. We cannot class him among the thinkers. He was a student of philosophy, who never took his master's degree. He read many works on the subject, and may be said to have annotated them in a thoughtful spirit; but real mastery of principles, decisive grasp of the subject, is what we seldom discover in his writings. Take the "Dissertation on Ethical Philosophy" with which this volume opens. It is perfectly charming, and perfectly perplexing. At our first reading of it, in our student days, we classed it among the most agreeable and least instructive of books. The literature of the subject could not easily be better done; but for philosophy we envy the sagacious mind that can extract solid nutriment therefrom. Vague and contradictory in his own conceptions of ethical problems, he is vague and unsatisfactory in exposition of the theories of others. We do not speak of omissions: it would exercise no great erudition to draw up a long list of them; but accepting the limits assigned by himself, and looking only to his treatment of the subjects chosen, we must call his Dissertation an agreeable failure. The Progress of Ethical Philosophy is not once indicated: the filiation of ideas from one epoch to another is only noticed in the rudest and most unsatisfactory manner. Nor have we such profound analysis of each separate system as might compensate for the absence of historical elucidation. Nevertheless, the Dissertation is, as we said, perfectly charming, and cannot be read without profit.

The "Essay on the Philosophical Genius of Bacon and Locke" is a more substantive performance; its few pages show greater power than the whole of the Dissertation. We heartily commend it to the reader. The "Discourse on the Law of Nature and Nations" is interesting, and contains some really excellent pages; but its philosophy is not up to the present requirements. "The Life of Sir Thomas More"—a grave and somewhat heavy biography, would, if written now, be interesting from its opening of the Communist question. It is no blame to Macintosh that he did not write for our quarrels!

The most important works which remain for us to notice are *Vindicia Gallica*—a protest against Burke, still worth reading, though Burke in a wrong cause transcends his antagonist even in a right cause—and the "Review of the Causes of the Revolution of 1688," which has received the highest

praise from Macaulay, and after that one has but to bow.

It is evident from this slight indication of the contents that this volume is varied and interesting. The learning, the thought, and the graces of style here offered for one guinea! What a store for evenings in the country! How the lonely student would hug such a volume! How the traveller would delight in placing it in his sea-chest with a three months' voyage before him! We who live in libraries have no true appreciation of these one-volume editions; but those to whom space in packing is of consequence bless the exodus of quartos, and the innovation of duodecimos, and one-volume editions.

#### HOLE'S SOCIAL SCIENCE.

*Lectures on Social Science and the Organization of Labour.* By James Hole. John Chapman.

THE growing importance of Socialism is manifested in the marked position it now occupies among discussions of the day. Still considered by the majority as "Utopian," it is daily demanding more and more attention from serious thinkers; and unfavourable as the scrutiny may be—must be—to the various Socialist systems, it becomes more and more favourable to the Socialist doctrine. Among the luminous remarks with which the work before us abounds, is this directed against the systematizers:—

"To improvise a state of society surpassing the visions of a Fourier or a Cabet, is not a very difficult matter. Man, however, is not made of such plastic material as theorists assume. His individuality must be respected, his free will held sacred. An organization in which the organized do not cooperate, is not good government—it is slavery. The end of all government, the object of every social organization, is, or ought to be, the progressive development and unfolding of each man. To impose laws against the general sense of the community, even with this high object, would be to sacrifice the end in the means."

As it is quite clear that Society itself must become Socialist before Socialism can be practicable (no less than that it must become Republican before a Republic can exist—a truth France illustrates at this moment), the obvious duty of all political teachers is to propound the doctrine of Socialism—either to advocate it or to oppose it—and so indoctrinate the world. Usurp the convictions of men, and you will soon enthrone your ambition. Agitate, lecture, argue, collect facts, apply principles, and endeavour in all practicable ways to exhibit the excellence of the doctrine in individual examples, so that coincident with the inculcation of Association as a principle men should see the success of Associations as facts.

James Hole's "Lectures" form a not unworthy contribution to this scheme. In eight lectures he examines the *Laissez faire* theory—the Labour Question—Surplus Labourers and the Poor Law—Organization of Surplus Labourers—the Land Question—Machinery—the Province of Government—and Association: all of them topics of immense importance, and all treated by him in a serious, thoughtful, well-considered manner. He is evidently desirous to get at the truth on each topic, and not to display rhetoric. He takes care to inform himself of the actual facts, and to give due attention to opposing arguments. There are no pretensions to novelty—none to any ingenuity in constructing a system; but the views here promulgated have the appearance of being fairly his own, inasmuch as he has thought them out for himself. A calm and moderate spirit of justice animates his "Lectures," which will greatly enforce their teaching. For example: when opposing to the uttermost all landowners, and declaring there should be nothing but landholders—thus making, as is equitable, landlordism merely one in the division of employments—he would not destroy the land monopoly without compensation. Nay, he demands complete compensation. Now it is quite clear that compensation is equitable, but no less clear that society withholds that compensation from those who most need it. Not a sinecure can be abolished, but a compensation must be given to the holder; not an abuse—however rank—can be done away with unless "vested interests" are satisfied. But who thinks of compensation to the poor workman when a machine is invented which throws him and thousands upon the streets to starve? In this case, do not orators and editors inform us that machinery benefits the public, and will eventually give more employment than it now supersedes? What comfort is that to those starving? The misery of thousands is thought cheap purchase-money for the new benefit.

But, if public benefit, and not individual interest, is to be the test, why "compensate" sinecure—why "compensate" landowners? The abolition of their claims would benefit the public; why are they not to suffer for the public good—in imitation of handloom weavers and others? We put the question crudely and boldly, because we wish to illustrate Mr. Hole's manner. That he sees the force of it is evident from the words we put in italics; but he sees also that, in both cases, equity demands compensation:—

"We would on no account sanction the deprivation of the present owners of their interest in the soil, at all events not without complete compensation. That society has no right to inflict an evil to obtain a good, until all means have been tried to avoid that evil, is a principle as valid for landlords as it ought to have been held for handloom weavers."

Against the modern notion of *Laissez faire*, with its attendant principle, Competition, Mr. Hole wages determined war. We do not always concur in his views of Government interference, because we do not distinctly apprehend what he regards as the true functions of Government. "Our great complaint is not that Government holds its true province to be 'to do as little as possible.' On the contrary, we think it already does a great deal too much. It will not interfere between master and workmen when the masters combine; it then says *laissez faire*! But it will and does interfere to shield masters from the combinations of workmen—it then says competition is tyranny! And so of many other things our complaint is that Government does not carry out its system of non-interference. In the same way Competition is not free:—

"It seems strange, indeed, that the doctrine of free competition between labour and capital, should ever have been tolerated, when we reflect that the fundamental condition on which any competition could be justified has never, in this (or perhaps in any other) country, been observed. If we suppose a colony of men emigrating to a new country, and dividing the soil in equitable portions among them, however unwise the arrangement might be in other respects, we should at least perceive no injustice in each man being told 'to do the best he could for himself.' But if the leader of the band selected the largest and best portions for himself and followers,—if he left the majority no share of the soil, i.e., no share of the fund destined for their support,—we should think it a cruel jest to tell them that their livelihood ought to depend upon the proportion between the fund for the employment of labour and their own numbers and industry, seeing that the source of it was being wasted, or, at all events, monopolized, by a few. To make the inquiry more palpable, imagine that each of the members of this colony lived to an antediluvian age,—that one of the more successful followers possessing a large slice of the new territory, had done absolutely nothing during 600 years, or, if you like, had gone to bed drunk every night during that time,—yet the very fact of his owning the soil and the others not, would ensure him the command of the labour of ten thousand men. Now what possible competition would be here? But if by the original conditions even of such an unjust distribution, the majority had claims on the soil,—and if by accident, fraud, or force, those claims had lapsed, if all legislation had gone on the one principle of making the rich richer, and the poor poorer,—if commons were added to parks, farms transformed into sheepwalks, and the reversion of the soil forcibly prevented by arbitrary and absurd laws,—to talk of 'free and fair competition' would be simple nonsense. Indeed such the law of England affirms it, in acknowledging the rights of the labourer to a maintenance, though coupled with poor-law conditions. Harsh as the poor-law is, it is the last relic of the labourer's claim on the soil, and an awkward stumbling-block to the supply and demand doctrine."

Then, as to the

#### RESULTS OF COMPETITION.

"Within twenty-four years five seasons of intense commercial distress have visited this country. Experience is lost upon the capitalist, because the intensity of the evil does not fall upon him. Under our present system it is nobody's affair to inquire respecting any proposed investment of capital, whether it will be advantageous to the public? As far as the public can, indeed, it preserves itself from the ill consequences of such evils by legal provisions. These legal enactments, monopolies, and charters, or whatever form the obstacle to speculation may present, only mitigate, and cannot cure, the evils they are aimed at. Speculation will find out new objects, new remedies will be required, and nothing save an entire reversal of the system can cure the evils. At one moment our people are labouring as if determined to clothe the world, and, three or six months afterwards, working half-time, or no-time. The effects of these gluts are familiar to all who live in manufacturing districts. The wages of the operative, inadequate even when in full employment to purchase him the comforts of life, prevent any accumulations to meet the periods of distress. Heavy rates and extra aids are demanded from the shopkeepers and tradesmen, precisely when their means of paying them are being withdrawn—the custom of the operatives on whom they depend. Paupers traverse the streets in bands, while hunger is written upon the faces of the larger portion of the population. Could some stranger, unrecognized of the circumstances, be placed at once in the centre of this mass



of misery, he might naturally think himself in the midst of some beleaguered city, where war and all the malignant passions had been doing their worst. What would be his surprise to learn, that these results were not the fruits of war, but of the so-called victories of peace! What if it were explained to him (if indeed it could be made intelligible), that the haggard faces of the artisans,—this living death, and struggle to maintain the life-spark a little longer, within their emaciated frames—were not the consequences of famine, but of plenty,—that it did not arise from a justly punished idleness, but from excessive industry,—that neither the hand of the conqueror, nor the niggardliness of nature, were to blame, but only the natural desire of a few capitalists to mend their condition,—would he not conclude that we were taxing his powers of belief, and that it was impossible such things should be? But what if he were further informed that such crises were of common occurrence,—that the season of trial and suffering, intense and horrible as it had been, passed over without one lesson for future guidance, without inducing a single precaution against a recurrence of the calamity,—would he not naturally regard us as a nation of madmen, unfit to be trusted with the management of our affairs?"

Mr. Hole well points out the contradiction of Political Economists, who say that the greatest stimulus in the production of wealth is the advantage which the producer will probably receive in return:—

"Yet precisely in that case where, above all others, it was necessary to offer such a stimulus, it has ever been the least regarded. So long as the notion prevails, that the labourer is not to work for his own benefit, but, in some sort, like the slave, for the benefit of another, how can just views ever prevail on this subject?"

Mr. Hole frankly avows himself a Communist:—

"Some of the charges against Association are so absurd or irrelevant, as scarcely to deserve notice. For example it has been denounced as a species of 'slavery.' To call that 'slavery' which simply requires that each shall be subject to rules formed by a body of men for the preservation of their mutual rights, and to designate that as freedom which subjects large numbers to the selfish interests of one individual, is a glaring misuse of language. Again, to mix up discussions on the right of property with association, is beside the question. Admit the right of the producer to the product, and the consequent right to exchange his produce and to accumulate it, this gives him no claim to rob the workman by means of an overcrowded labour market—confers no title to grasp as much as he can by a system of speculation and commercial gambling. A man's property is what he has produced, no less, no more, and his 'right' of use should stop at that point which infringes upon the welfare of others. How far the rights of property have approximated to this standard, let the present condition of labourers and operatives, male and female, bear witness.

"Neither does the right to property militate one title against Communism. A man has a right to defend his life or liberty when attacked, though his mode of exercising that right may be a question of expediency. If many find themselves jeopardized, they may combine and form an army for mutual defence. Yet no man gives up his rights,—he but protects them in a certain way. So, too, he may forego his claim to the specific results of his industry, when satisfied that by so doing he shall obtain more than an equivalent. . . . Communism among men guided only by low impulses (the result in part of previous misdirected training), and unrestrained by those guarantees which common-sense dictates, might possibly exhibit the results predicted by Mr. McCulloch. This, however, no more disproves the communist principle, than the necessity of using arms establishes the inexpediency of peace. Enthusiasts, living in too narrow a circle of thought, sometimes carry principles to cases to which they do not legitimately apply. Just as it is folly to preach the non-resistance principle to a mad-dog, or to 'Croats' and 'Cossacks' quite as ferocious, so it is equally absurd to apply the doctrine of entire fraternity to those but partially, or not at all, imbued with its influence and intelligence. To give to the idle the fruits of the laborious, to the sensual the rewards of self-denial, would be self-destructive to any system which permitted it. Social equality is not to be brought about by mechanical and arbitrary divisions which would only substitute the animal selfishness of the multitude for the commercial and aristocratic selfishness of the middle and upper classes. True fraternity arises from a noble and enlightened sentiment of the uses of property, and Communism, in our sense of that term, will only exist to the extent to which such a sentiment prevails."

With the following excellent remarks we close our notice of this work, which is published at a price so low that any one who can buy a book at all can afford it:—

"The principle of association, or coöperation, is susceptible of every degree of application, from the simplest assistance which two men agree to render each other, up to the highest and most refined combinations. There is no such thing as a perfected system of association into which society has but to jump, and from which it shall at once reap all the advantages. The degree of association of which men are capable depends on the height of moral and intellectual cultivation to which they may have attained. Try to unite the more advanced principles of coöperation with men in a low degree of culture, and you will fail. As reasonably might one expect a nation of savages to coöperate in making laws or any refined social arrangements. They are obliged to resign themselves to the control of an individual mind. Hence autocracy is the best government for barbarous people. As men reach a higher culture they require and obtain

more liberal institutions. Take, for example, the progress of railway communication. What an immense amount of knowledge now exists upon the subject! Every department, even the minutest, has been studied and tried by repeated experiments and calculations. Not an exigency arises, but ingenuity is racked to supply it. As soon as difficulties occur they are obviated. But all this vast amount of knowledge could not have existed anterior to the construction of a railway. It was the emergency which developed the resources. No conclave of philosophers and engineers could have prearranged the railway system. The utmost they could do would be to examine the fundamental principles,—to take as much care as possible that nothing entered into the first experiment which might mislead them; and the duty of society was not to stand gaping incredulously at the labours of the discoverers and inventors, still less to oppose them, but to lend its sympathy and aid as far as the object might reasonably appear to deserve it. In the same manner the principle of association must pass through many phases, before its full value, and the right extent of its application, will become developed. Association in production, and association in consumption, will doubtless exist as separate applications of the principle for some time. As practice develops the advantages of the system and exposes its weak points the former will become increased, the latter remedied, until the principle has been carried to the greatest extent to which it can subserve human happiness."

#### DR. FLEMING'S INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS.

*Introductory Address on the Medical Profession.* By Dr. Alexander Fleming, Professor of Materia Medica in Queen's College, Cork. Hodges and Smith, Dublin.

WE believe it to be admitted by all, that medical studies have had hitherto a false and vicious direction. In Great Britain, they have not yet brought to society the advantages which they are susceptible of bestowing. And, it could not be otherwise, from the character which medical studies have had hitherto. For instance, physiology, that preëminent branch of the medical science has often been unknown, or very seldom sufficiently studied; in the medical schools, also, anatomy has generally been hastily learnt and soon forgotten, the medical students only acquiring what was indispensable for their examinations; and, when they have been established and commenced practice, they bid adieu to science. Not having been impressed with the superiority of their calling, they have remained exclusively absorbed by their avidity to obtain patients, in order to overpower them with drugs. Moreover, many sciences which, although accessory, are essential and indispensable to a complete medical education, have long been neglected. Such, for instance, as natural history, chemistry, mathematics, physics. It must appear evident that to the latter are connected many phenomena which have been improperly called *vital*, or depending on vitality, and that, for example, the theory of circulation is extremely simplified by a few notions of hydraulics and of mechanics; in short, the medical science cannot be perfected without a clear knowledge of the great phenomena of nature. The truth is that the science of medicine has too long remained in Great Britain, more especially, a mercantile profession, which has but too often been exercised with a small portion of medical education, experience, and of intellectual capital.

But a new era has commenced for the medical science and the medical profession. In no instance have we seen that new era which repels the old abuses and places that profession for its highly moral and scientific basis, proclaimed in a loftier, more logical, and more legitimate tone than in the address of Dr. Fleming, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine, Queen's College, Cork. The Irish Colleges, despite the despicable opposition of the ultramontane party, will conquer the sympathies of the enlightened laity of Ireland; they have, indeed, already acquired a great ascendancy, and it could not fail doing so, if we take, as an example of their superior tendency and spirit, the programme and scientific manifesto of Dr. Fleming. He explains, in a clear and earnest language, the higher and superior course of studies required for the M.D. degree in the Queen's University, Ireland, and to be pursued in the Faculty of Medicine, at Cork. But we have been, above all, delighted to see on what grounds he establishes the preëminence of the medical profession; he believes it to be in the practice of that profession that is found its highest reward; he says that—

"He who unites in himself the successful practitioner and the upright and honourable man, enjoys a position in society which may well be envied. He is the adviser, friend, and confidant, and at all times a welcome visitor of those who possess his professional services."

And to this we must add the conclusion of the address, which dwells also on the surpassing morality of the profession:—

"Our claims on the esteem and gratitude of men are

freely admitted. It would be difficult to refuse respect to a profession which is indispensable to civilized life; whose constant occupation is the alleviation of suffering and cure of disease; which gives more time and labour to the poor than all the other branches of society together; which exhibits unwearied devotion to the cause of science, and which can cite the names of Harvey and Hunter, of Bichot and Cuvier, of Jenner and Simpson, of Faraday and Alison.

"Thus, gentlemen, estimated by the extent and importance of the knowledge it demands, by its past services and present value to society, by the names illustrious in science, literature, and philanthropy, of which it can boast, yours is a noble profession; opening to all a wide field of usefulness, and holding out rewards to the most honourable ambition."

Thrice happy, indeed, the new generation that will receive such lessons of Christian morality connected with their scientific studies and their profession!—noble profession!—if it does now give more time and labour to the poor than all the other branches of society together, what will it be in the future? We have often thought that the two functions in civilized society which had the most in their power to alleviate the sufferings of the poor were those belonging to medicine and religion; but the latter, namely the members of the clergy, but too often evince a disposition to charity and philanthropy darkened, disfigured, often totally obliterated, by sectarian acrimony or religious fanaticism. To the former, therefore, to the members of the medical profession, with their minds elevated by the calm pursuits of science, and their hearts trained to the feelings of charity and benevolence, seems to belong, for the present, the most abundant prospects of practical humanity. But to conclude, we can only repeat that this Address of Dr. Fleming is replete with practical, wholesome, and elevated advice to the students of the profession, and that he expounds admirably the superior course of study to be pursued in the Faculty of Medicine at Cork. Dr. Fleming, as dean of that faculty, has devoted all his energies, talents, and experience to this medical school in the Cork College; and already, we understand, he may have the gratification to behold the result of his noble efforts; for, although it has not been opened much more than a year, it has nevertheless a large number of intelligent and zealous students, who will in a few years bear and exhibit the fruits of the new college, which an ignorant priesthood has endeavoured, and still endeavours, with endless calumnies, to represent as dangerous to the faith and morals of the Irish youth.

#### BOOKS ON OUR TABLE.

*Quintus Horatii Flacci, Carmina.* Carefully revised from the most recent texts.

*Quintus Horatii Flacci. De Arte Poetica.*

*Platonis Phædrus.* Recensuit C. Badham, A.M. J. W. Parker.

Three of a series of very cheap and very elegant classical texts which Mr. Parker is issuing. There are two classes who will be particularly thankful for the series. Parents who, knowing that their boys have only one or two works of each author to read, need not, therefore, for that purpose be compelled to purchase whole editions of these authors; and students who are glad to have pocket editions of separate treatises unencumbered with notes and displays of editorial vanity (not to mention ignorance). The rage for writing *alla podrida* of notes cannot be too strongly discouraged. Only the other day that shameless "conveyer" of other people's property, Professor Anthon, gave an edition of the "Anabasis," in which he quietly incorporated Mr. Francis Ainsworth's "Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand" in his notes. Literary conscience should have taught him other etiquette; but all he thought of was to give notes, and he gave them!

Mr. Parker's classical texts are carefully edited by scholars such as Donaldson, Badham, Pillans, Major, &c., and the editors having bestowed all their industry on the text, forbear burdening us with notes. Every one who wishes to read a separate treatise would do well to invest a shilling or eighteen pence in one of these elegant little publications.

*The Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius Pamphilus, Bishop of Cæsarea, in Palestine.* Translated from the Greek by the Reverend C. F. Cruse, A.M. With Notes selected from the edition of Valesius (Bohn's Ecclesiastical Library).

H. G. Bohn.

This is the first volume of a new undertaking by the Colossus of enterprise in York-street—a new Ecclesiastical Library—to be followed, we presume, by most of the Christian Fathers. The present is a reprint of an American translation of Eusebius; indexed as usual with Mr. Bohn's books. It will be a boon to many students; for, although Eusebius is anything but a brilliant writer, his authority as an historian immediately succeeding the Acts of the Apostles must always be invoked.

*The Free Inquirer in Science, Politics, and Theology.* Edited by George K. Vine. Watson.

This little periodical has altered its type for the purpose of adding matter equal to four pages extra. We think it a pity, considering the small space and the lapse of a month between each number, that the pages should contain anything but original matter. Extracts may be used as illustrations; but should not be made a staple.

**The Philosophy of Ragged Schools.**

This is one of the series of small books on great subjects which Mr. Pickering has issued, and, though not up to the standard of excellence given by that series, is, nevertheless, an interesting bird's-eye view of the history and purpose of Ragged Schools. It has one excellence: that of being written from the fulness of the heart.

**Penny Maps.** Part 7.

Chapman and Hall

The progress of this undertaking justifies all our expectations. The cheapness is real cheapness, for the maps are excellent. The present number contains France in four maps—divided into departments. Parents and teachers should at once possess the series.

**The Hand-Book of Mesmerism.** By Thomas Buckland.

Hippolyte Bailliere.

A book of this nature is certainly a desideratum, and this, from the excellent sources whence the directions are derived, may be trusted by all who wish to make experiments. The most minute practical information is furnished from the highest authorities. Those who look to the religious reasons by which some of the rules are supported, may, perhaps, experience wonder; but this need awaken no distrust, as the great practical value of Mr. Buckland's manual, which, by placing in the hands of everybody the means by which the truth of Mesmerism may be tested, must either extensively confirm or convert its opponents.

**The Journal of Gas Lighting.** Vol. I. 1849 and 1850.

G. Hebert.

What more striking proof of the growing importance of the gas interest could be mentioned than the simple fact that a monthly journal, expressly devoted to the illustration and discussion of that class of subjects in which the shareholders and employees of gas companies alone are specially interested, was established two years ago, and is now, to all appearance, in a flourishing way. The journal is carefully got up, and contains a great amount of useful information, chiefly bearing on gas lighting and scientific subjects of a kindred nature.

**The Contrabandists of Ninehead; or, Ninety Years Past.** No. 1.

T. W. Grattan.

**Why is Popery Progressing?** By David Thom, D.D. Second Edition.

H. K. Lewis.

**The Duty of England; a Protestant Layman's Reply to Cardinal Wiseman's Appeal.**

John Chapman.

**Cautions for the Times.**

J. W. Parker.

**Catholicity Spiritual and Intellectual; an Attempt at Finding the Harmony of Faith and Knowledge.** By Thomas Wilson, M.A.

John Chapman.

**Two Addresses: one to the Gentlemen of Whitley, who signed the Requisition calling a Meeting to Address the Queen on the late (so-called) Aggression of the Pope; and the other to the Protestant Clergy.** By the Catholic Priest of Uthorpe.

Richardson and Sons.

**The Poetical Works of Oliver Goldsmith.** Cundall and Addey.**The People's Chant-Book.** By James Tillard. J. A. Novello.**Christianity and its Evidences.** By the Reverend J. G. Rogers, B.A.

B. L. Green.

**Specimens of Translation and Versification.** By Joseph Hambleton.

C. Fox.

**The Musical Times.** Nos. 80 and 81.**The Christian Socialist.** Part 3.**Handel's Oratorio, "Joshua."** Nos. 5 and 6.**Mendelssohn's Hymn of Praise.** Nos. 7 and 8.**Novello's Part Song-Book.** Nos. 10 and 11.**London Labour and London Poor.** Parts 1 and 2.**Leisure Moments.** No. 11, New Series.**The Rambler.** Part 38.**Pictorial Half-Hours.** Part 9.**Knight's Pictorial Shakespeare.** Part 8.**Knight's Exhibition Companion.** Part 1.**Knight's Cyclopaedia of Industry.** Part 3.**Knight's Cyclopaedia of London.** Part 3.**Half-Hours with the Best Authors.** Part 11.**Abolition of the Proctorship.** Article 1.**Abolition of the Duty on Paper.** Article 1.**The Case of the Authors, as regards the Paper Duty.** By Charles Knight.**British Quarterly Review.****North British Review.****Fraser's Magazine.****The Looker On.****Household Words.****Household Narrative.****Leigh Hunt's Journal.****Le Follet, Journal du Grand Monde.**

**LONDON POPULATION.**—The population of London exceeds that of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany by 300,000, that of the Grand Duchy of Baden by upwards of 500,000, and is nearly or about five times the amount of the population of Nassau. Ascending to kingdoms that fill more or less prominent rôles on the great stage of the political drama, we get the following results:—London is within 4 or 500,000 of half the population of Bavaria; exceeds by upwards of 100,000 half the population of Belgium, and by 400,000 half the population of Holland; is equal to the whole population of Hanover; exceeds the whole population of Westphalia by 450,000; and is considerably more than the whole population of Greece. These dry figures suggest a lively idea of the perfection to which we have brought the art of packing, illustrating to the last extremity the economical problem of the greatest possible number in the smallest possible space. Assuming the area of London to be nineteen square miles, it yields us a population on each mile of 130,000 human creatures, performing within that stunted compass all the operations of life and death, mixed up in a fearful melée of passions and interests, luxury and starvation, debauchery and criminality, hard work and idleness; besides an infinity of occupations—useful, ornamental, and mischievous, making love, begging alms, picking pockets, juggling, grinding organs, rolling in carriages, exhibiting "happy families" in the streets, and returning at night to unspeakable misery at home.—From *Fraser* for February.

**Portfolio.**

We should do our utmost to encourage the Beautiful, for the Useful encourages itself.—GOETHE.

**WAS MACREADY A GREAT ACTOR?**

The greatest—incomparably so—of all living tragedians concluded his farewell performances at the Haymarket on Monday last, amidst the frantic bravos of a loving and regretting public. Although his farewell to the public will be bidden on the occasion of his benefit (fixed for the 26th instant), yet we may say that on Monday last he bade farewell to the stage. He has left it for ever. His career as an Actor is closed. We may select his niche in the Pantheon. The Actor is dead, and can no longer strut his brief hour on the stage. The curtain drops—the house empties—the lights are extinguished—silence, cold and cheerless, succeeds to the loud acclamations which made the vaulted roof reverberate erewhile—the Tragedian is washing the paint off his face, and in another hour will be in the retired privacy of his quiet happy home! The Mask is laid aside—and for ever.

Considering Macready, then, as dead—as I am bound to consider him in a theatrical sense—I will try to answer the question which my children and their friends are sure to ask me some day when I am running down their idolized Tragedian, and try to spoil their pleasure by cheapening their "dear delightful Mr. —," and assuring them I had seen "Edmund Kean and Macready in that part," the question, namely, "Was Macready a great Actor?"

"To say nothing but good of the dead," is a maxim for which I have always felt but a mediocre respect, mainly, perhaps, because the medal bears on the reverse side "To say nothing but evil of the living." While a statesman or an artist lives envy and all uncharitableness assail him; no sooner does the bell toll for his funeral than those who yesterday were foremost to assail, now become elegiac in their grief and hyperbolic in their eulogium. It has always seemed to me that the contrary would be the more generous as well as the more advantageous method. When blame ceases to give pain I see no reason why it should be spared; when adverse criticism can "instruct the public" and yet not hurt an artist's fortunes, then is the time for the critic to speak without reservation—then let us have the truth in all its energy!

Do not suppose this to be a preface to an "attack" upon the fine actor who has just quitted the scene. My purpose is far from polemical. I merely wish, in the way of conversation, to jot down such hints towards an appreciation of his talent as have occurred to me; and as, with all my admiration, I must still qualify the praise by advancing objections which thorough-going admirers will pronounce heresies, I claim, at the outset, the right of saying of the dead all the evil I think, and not of garlanding the tomb with artificial flowers.

It is a question often mooted in private, whether Macready was a great actor, or only an intelligent actor, or (for this, too, is not unfrequently said) an intrinsically bad actor. The last opinion is uttered by some stanch admirers of Kemble and Young, and by those critics who, looking at the drama as an *imitation of Nature*, dwell upon the exaggerations and other false colours wherewith Macready paints, and proclaim him, consequently, a bad artist. Now, in discussing a subject like the present, it is imperative that we understand the *point of view* from which we both look at it.

I am impressed with the conviction that the majority mistakes Art for an *Imitation of Nature*. It is no such thing. Art is a *Representation*. This is why too close an approach to Reality in Art is shocking: why coloured statues are less agreeable—except to the vulgar minds—than the colourless marble.

Without pausing to expound that principle, I beg the reader will, for the present at least, take my word for its accuracy, that I may be able to place him at my point of view. Taking Art as a *Representative* rather than as an *Imitative* process (including imitation only as one of its *means* of representation), I say that the test of an actor's genius is not "fidelity to Nature," but simply and purely his power of exciting emotions in you respondent to the situation—ideal when that is ideal, passionate when that is pas-

sionate, familiar when that is familiar, prosaic when that is prosaic. A bad actor mouths familiar prose as if it were the loftiest verse; but a good actor (such as Bouffé, or Charles Mathews), if he were to play ideal characters with the same familiarity and close adherence to Nature as that which makes his performance of familiar parts charming, would equally sin against the laws of Art.

Let me go some distance back for an illustration. In Greek Tragedy, acting, as we understand it, was impossible. Addressing an audience of thirty thousand (I give you the number on the authority of Plato), all of whom, like true democrats, insisted on hearing and seeing, the unassisted voice and the unaided proportions of the actor would of course have been useless. A contrivance considerably raised and amplified the man's stature, while his voice was assisted by a bronze mask with a round hole at the mouth, through which the actor spoke as through a speaking trumpet. Now I ask you to place yourself upon stilts and shout "To be or not to be," through a speaking trumpet, and then answer me whether acting were possible under such conditions!

This Mask gives me the image I am in want of to convey my meaning. The Latin word *persona* is derived from thence, and *dramatis persone* may be translated "*The Masks through which the Actors speak.*" Whether the actor dons a veritable Mask of bronze, or whether he throws it aside and makes a Mask of his own face, he is still only personating, i.e. speaking through a mask, i.e. representing. The Greeks had twenty-six different classes of Masks, and bestowed immense pains on them. "There be actors that I have seen play, and heard some applaud too," who had but one invariable Mask—and that a bad one—for every part. *Ma non ragioniam di lor!*

Taking, then, the masks as types of the various characters an actor has to play (to *personate*, as we correctly say), you see at once what a very different thing it was for the Greek actor to go to some antique Nathan and choose his mask, and for the modern who has to invent and make up his own mask with his own limited materials! Many actors, nay, the vast majority, do still go to some Nathan's and borrow a *traditional* mask; just as many poetasters go to the common fund for images, similes, rhymes and rhythms, or, as politicians reissue the old and well-worn currency of sophisms, facts, and paralogisms.—So few men can compose their own masks!

To compose a mask, or, if you like it, to personate a character, there are three fundamental requisite conditions which I will call—1. *Conceptual Intelligence*. 2. *Representative Intelligence*. 3. *Physical Advantage*. The first condition is requisite to *understand* the character; the two last are requisite in different degrees to *represent* the character. High poetic culture, knowledge of human nature, sympathy with elemental states of passion, and all that we understand by a fine intellect, will assist the actor in his study of the character, but it will do no more. The finest intellect in the world would not enable a man to play Hamlet or Othello finely. Shakespeare himself couldn't do it; but wisely cast himself (Oh! the lesson to actor-managers!) as the Ghost. There are other requisites besides conception. There is the second requisite (what I have called representative intelligence), under which may be included the intelligent observation and reproduction of typical gestures, looks, tones—the mimetic power of imitating peculiarities. This requisite is possessed by actors oftener than the first. Without fine intellect it makes respectable actors; carried to a certain degree and accompanied with certain physical advantages it makes remarkable actors, especially in the comic line. The third requisite, which I have named physical advantages, includes person, deportment, voice, and physical power. Too little consideration is devoted to that, yet it is enough of itself to make or mar an actor. All the intellect in the world, all the representative intelligence in the world could not enable a man with a weak voice, limited in its compass, unless compensated by some peculiar effects in tone, to perform Othello, Macbeth, Shylock, &c., with success. Whereas a noble presence, a fine voice, and a moderate degree of representative intelligence with no appreciable amount of conceptual intelligence have sufficed to draw the town ere now, and make even critics believe a great actor had appeared.

Having thus briefly indicated what I conceive to



be the leading principles in the philosophy of acting, I proceed to apply them to Macready; and first say that, inasmuch as he possesses in an unusual degree the three requisites laid down, he must be classed among the great actors. His conceptual intelligence every one will acknowledge. Even those to whom his peculiarities are offensive admit that he is a man of intellect, of culture. But I do not go along with those who exalt his intellect into greatness. I am not aware of any manifestation of greatness he has given. His conception always betrays care and thought, and never betrays foolishness. On the other hand, I never received any light from him to clear up an obscurity; my knowledge of Shakespeare is little increased by his performances. I cannot point to any one single trace of illumination—such as Edmund Kean used to flash out. This may be my fault; but I am here recording individual impressions, and I say that Macready's knowledge of Shakespeare and his art, unquestionable though it be, does not prove to me the greatness of intellect which his ardent admirers assume for him. The intelligence most shown by Macready is that which I have named representative intelligence, and which he possesses in a remarkable degree. Certain peculiarities and defects prevent his representing the high, heroic, passionate characters; but nothing can surpass his representation of some others; and connecting this representative intelligence with his physical advantages, we see how he can execute what he conceives, and thus become an actor. His voice—one primary requisite of an actor—is a fine one, powerful, extensive in compass, and containing tones that thrill, and tones that weep. His person is good, and his face very expressive. So that give him a character within his proper range and he will be great in it; and even the greatest actors can only perform certain characters for which their representative intelligence and physical organization fit them.

"I wish I had not seen Macready in Macbeth. I saw him in Werner and came away with such an impression of his power that I regret having seen his Macbeth which completely destroys my notion of him." That was the phrase I heard the other day at dinner, and it seemed to me a good text for a criticism on Macready; for if the real test of an actor be that he raises emotions in you respondent to the situation, then assuredly does Macready stand this test whenever the situation be not of a grand, abstract, ideal nature. The anguish of a weak, timid, prostrate mind, he can represent with a sorrowing pathos, as great as Kean in the heroic agony of Othello; and in all the touching domesticities of tragedy he is unrivalled. But he fails in the characters which demand impassioned grandeur, and a certain *largo* of execution. His Macbeth and Othello have fine touches; but they are essentially unheroic—their passion is fretful and irritable, instead of being broad, vehement, overwhelming. His Hamlet is too morbid, irritable, and lachrymose. Lear is his finest Shaksperian character—because the fretfulness and impatience of the old man come within the range of Macready's representative powers, of which the terrible curse may be regarded as the climax. King John, Richard II., Iago, and Cassius are also splendid performances; in each of them we trace the same characteristic appeal to the actor's peculiar powers. Although you can see him in no part without feeling that an artist is before you, yet if you think of him as a great actor, it is as Werner, Lear, Virginian, Richelieu, King John, Richard II., Iago—not as Othello, Macbeth, Hamlet, Coriolanus. Nor is this any ground of objection. Every actor is by nature fitted for certain characters, and unfitted for others. I believe Macready to be radically unfitted for ideal characters—for the display of broad elemental passions—for the representation of grandeur, moral or physical; and I believe him peculiarly fitted for the irritable, the tender, and the domestic; he can depict rage better than passion, anguish better than mental agony, misery better than despair, tenderness better than the abandonment of love. But the things he can do he does surpassingly well; and for this, also, I must call him a great actor.

The tricks and mannerisms which others copy, and which objectors suffer to outweigh all other qualities, I need waste no words on here. He was great in spite of them, as Kean was in spite of his.

Summing up these remarks into a compact sentence, I answer the question put by my imaginary questioners thus: "Yes, Macready was a great actor.

Though not a man of genius, he was a man of intellect, of culture, of representative talent, with decided physical advantages, capable of depicting a wide range of unheroic characters with truth and power, an ornament to his profession, the pride of his friends, and the favourite of the public. He gained his position when Kean and Young were on the stage; when they left it he stood alone. His departure left a blank. There was no successor; none capable of bending the bow of Ulysses."

Before I conclude this incomplete notice let me, in extenuation of what may seem severity, observe that I have throughout criticized according to an abstract standard of the Art, and not according to the present condition of the stage. I might easily and conscientiously have written a panegyric; but there would not have been half the real compliment in it there is in the foregoing attempt at philosophic analysis, though blame may have been "precipitated" by the analysis. True, very true the adage, "Art is difficult, Criticism easy;" but there is something far easier than Criticism, and that is panegyric!

VIVIAN.

#### WILT THOU LOVE ME, THUS, FOR EVER?

Thou gazest, deep and earnest—  
Deep and earnest are thine eyes;  
I know that in our being  
There are answering sympathies:  
I know there dwells upon me  
An affection rich and pure,  
And ask, with anxious yearning,  
"Will it ever, thus, endure?"  
Quick changes come upon us—  
Changes not in our control;  
There are shadows and eclipses,  
And dark tides upon the soul.  
With tremulous emotion  
I accept thy bounteous store,  
But ask, with anxious yearning,  
"Wilt thou love me evermore?"  
Thou knowest all my weakness,  
Thou knowest all my power;  
Thou'rt read my life, and knowest  
Every weed and every flower;  
And if within my nature  
Any gracious gift there be,  
I would its brightest radiance  
Should transfuse itself to thee.  
God knows, no selfish impulse  
Draws my heart thus close to thine;  
I would that all thy toiling  
Should partake of the divine;  
I would be wise and perfect,  
Living truly, heartily,  
That life's most glorious haloes  
Should surround and hallow thee!  
And if upon thy pathway  
I have cast one tiny ray,—  
Made one moment brighter, happier,  
By my life or by my lay,—  
Then thou canst not love a nature  
That is meaner than my own:  
Thou canst never have enjoyment  
In a soul of lower tone.  
So I rest my heart contented,  
For, in this clearer view,  
I see thou'lt not withhold me  
Such love as is my due;  
And, if some richer nature  
Win the gift that once was mine,  
I must bow my head submissive  
To a law of the Divine!  
But, with earnest strong endeavour,  
I would labour by thy side,  
Earn the right to be companion,  
Fellow-worker, and thy guide;  
Thro' all earth's weary turmoil  
Keep a loving soul, and pure,  
And thy bounties of affection  
Will for ever, thus, endure.

MARIE.

THE ART TO BLOT.—"One must be an old practitioner," he added laughing, "to understand striking out. Schiller was particularly great in that. I once saw him, on the occasion of his 'Musalmanach,' reduce a pompous poem of two-and-twenty strophes to seven; and no loss resulted from this terrible operation. On the contrary, those seven strophes contained all the good and effective thoughts of the two-and-twenty."—Goethe's Conversations with Eckermann.

## European Democracy, AND ITS OFFICIAL ACTS.

This page is accorded to an authentic Exposition of the Opinions and Acts of the Democracy of Europe: as such we do not impose any restraint on the utterance of opinion, and, therefore, limit our own responsibility to the authenticity of the statement.

#### POSITION OF POLAND.

Some of our readers, in perusing the exposition given in the two last numbers of the *Leader* of the Polish democracy, may wonder why Poland, being so prepared, and her past revolutionary movements so convincingly showing her courage and unlimited desire to reconquer her political independence—of which she was so infamously despoiled—took no advantage of so favourable a circumstance as 1848 offered her, and did not simultaneously rise in the cause of her restoration. We, therefore, give the following extract from a document upon this subject, issued by the most competent party in this matter, viz., the *Centralization of the Polish Democratic Society*, inserted in No. 2 of the French weekly publication "*La Voix du Proscrit, Organe de la République Universelle*":—

"... After having read M. de Lamartine's manifesto, Poland could not be deceived, for in it she perceived the declaration, repeated in every imaginable shape, 'that the republic will make no war against any one; that the treaties of 1815 were admitted as the basis and starting point for the relations of the Republic with other nations; that it will make no propaganda.' No, Poland, whose name was not even mentioned, could not be deceived, could not mistake the concealed malevolence directed against herself and other oppressed nations in the following ambiguous phrase: 'that the Republic would think itself empowered to arm, should the hour of reconstructing oppressed nationalities in Europe, or ELSEWHERE, appear to have struck.'

"To admit the treaties of 1815 *de facto*, if not *de jure*, was to plainly avow that France was ready to ally herself with Poland's enemies; moreover, to clearly confess her readiness to acknowledge as '*faits accomplis*,' the suppression of the constitution of the so-called kingdom of Poland, the annihilation of the Republic of Cracow, and the destruction of the Polish nationality. Then, what did the declaration mean by the phrase 'that the republic would arm itself, should the moment of the reconstructing of nationalities appear to have arrived?' Was it not to proclaim that France would make an easy bar: gain, both of justice and of the imprescriptible rights of other nations? Was it not as much as to say 'let us be in peace at home; we are determined not to stir; our own interests are our guide, egotism our compass?'

"It is not the first time that we have made the above remarks. It is not only in Poland that the revolution of February was deemed an abortion, and the words *fraternity*, and *international solidarity*, official lies. Those who doubt this have but to ask the Germans what their feelings, after the appearance of M. de Lamartine's manifesto, were? Let them recall to their memory the language and the acts of the amazed German princes, who had lost all hope of escaping the revolutionary blow, and who unexpectedly perceived the means of salvation furnished to them by a minister of the French Republic.

"Thus Poland knew that, should the chance of arms turn against her, she would be abandoned, sacrificed, as she was under Louis XV., under the first French Republic, under Napoleon, and in 1830; in short, as she always has been. She well comprehended this, and so also did the Polish Democracy in exile. When the Polish exiles in France manifested their anxiety to repair to Poland, what did the French Government say to them? 'Wait; for if you go now, you would incite an immediate insurrection, which would be premature: France is not yet ready to back you. Consider your country merely as our advanced post and forlorn hope amidst the enemies, the release of which post requires that the main army be fully organized.' It was in vain we represented that it was not for the purpose of making an immediate insurrection we wished to go to Poland, but merely to prepare it; that we were well acquainted with the state of our country; that the rising of the country is unavoidable, imminent, but that perhaps it might be weak, hence sterile. Sterile, because it would not have been properly prepared and organized. Weak, because it would not be headed and led by Democrats. It was with impatience and patriotic anxiety, therefore, that the exiled Polish Democrats, deprived of every means, awaited. Meanwhile, the French statesman began to amuse and allure them with projects of forming a Polish Legion, refusing, nevertheless, to give any explanation as to the object of such formation. We are in ignorance as to who formed that project, but we well know that members of the provisional government even were just as ignorant on this subject as ourselves. It was only some time afterwards when Russia had already lined the frontiers of the kingdom of

Poland with innumerable troops, and the King of Prussia had begun to get the ascendancy over the revolution of Berlin, that they said to us:—"Go, organize your country; place your experience at its service; the roads thither have been widely reopened for you." We went—our hearts full of grief, with death in our souls. We went—because we ought to have done so, for at that solemn moment Poland ought not to have been deprived of the co-operation of her exiled children; who, by the Democratic Society, have been so perseveringly guided on the new path to futurity. We went—and in about a month afterwards we were driven away by the bombardment of Cracow and by the dismemberment of the Grand Duchy of Posen, and the promise of national organization, by which the exiles were allured, and the country lulled to sleep, vanished in a pool of blood.

"We do not amuse, we simply narrate.

"Besides, in 1848, Poland was in a state of complete disorganization. In consequence of the movement of 1846, the great bulk of the Democrats in the kingdom of Poland and in Lithuania, was either hung, banished to Siberia, or imprisoned; and in Galicia and Cracow all those who were not slaughtered by Metternich and Szele's hired assassins, were either wandering in exile, or confined in prisons. As to the Duchy of Posen and Western Prussia, the dungeons of Berlin contain—in consequence of the monster process—117 patriots sentenced to death or imprisonment. All hope, it is true, was not yet lost; new conspiracies were formed, new relations established; but, alas! the centre of these scattered forces was no more in the country itself, but in the hands of the Democratic centralization in exile. Thus the impulse in 1848 could only proceed from the emigration, or rather from the chiefs of the conspiracy in 1846, who, in consequence of the Vienna and Berlin revolutions, were set at liberty.

"We have thus explained the principal reasons why the Democratic emigration was prevented from acting.

"As to our compatriots released from prison, they, of course, believed that the old order of things was for ever at an end,—that the moment of Poland's redemption had arrived, and that there was nothing to do but simply to prepare for war against Russia; a war in which the Poles were to be supported by Germany, by France, nay, by the whole of Europe. Alas! these hopes proved to be sheer delusion; but how could they avoid being deluded, when from all sides such words of hope were to be heard,—when, shortly after having been sentenced, tortured, imprisoned, they saw themselves at once perfectly free in the midst of the capital of their enemy, greeted by the out-cry, "Long live Poland!" and received by the King himself, who, from the balcony of his royal palace, rendered forced homage to his captives? We could, perhaps, blame their too easy confidence, but we could not reasonably condemn them. Honest souls are always confiding. It was, after all, justifiable in men, who, suddenly released, read in the declaration of Frederick William, that the provinces not being thorough German ones, were allowed to organize themselves as they pleased; and who with amazement saw their countrymen hastening to the Grand Duchy of Posen, armed by the police of Berlin, with weapons taken from the arsenals of that capital.

"Others less justifiable of our compatriots rallied around the effete dignitaries, whose first care, after having formed themselves into committees, was to negotiate with the agonizing government, and to yield to its larger concessions than it could have expected.

"These committees soon invested the prisoners of Berlin with public functions, which, absorbing their activity, deprived them of taking the initiative. Posen, like Milan, had—though under another name—its Carlo-Alberto party. With M. de Lamartine's manifesto in hand, this party kept on recommending union, wisdom, and moderation, and whilst they were wasting precious time, M. de Lamartine's diplomatic agent at Berlin took advantage of it, in order to forge false and calumnious reports."

"By such means was impeded the external propaganda, viz., that in the kingdom of Poland, in Lithuania, and the Russian provinces, whose inhabitants necessarily awaited the watchword from their better-informed brethren (the Poles of Posen), who pretended to enjoy the privilege of arming themselves. Internally, viz., in the Grand Duchy of Posen itself, the insurrectional organization was replaced by so-to-say regular stocks of regiments which, though their formation was formally authorized by the Prussian government, were, as fast as they succeeded to partly form themselves, disbanded by the latter. These pullings and haulings produced the conflict whose short but glorious phases moved the Parisians, and gave rise to the manifestation of the 15th of May, 1848, in Paris. Cracow and Galicia were obliged to continue the temporizing policy of Posen without hoping to derive any good on the part of the French government, whose advice were rather yielded to than followed. After the bombardment of Lemberg, all the exiles still remaining in Galicia, and who were furnishing the press with propagandistic materials, and spreading them by every other means, were mercilessly expelled, whilst the debris of the Polish youth set off across the battle fields of heroic but hapless Hungary towards a painful and remote exile.

"To resume our arguments, we affirm that the preaching of the peace, at any rate by M. de Lamartine, in the name of republican France on the one hand, and the insufficiency of the organization of the Democratic party in Poland on the other, were the reasons which, in 1848 prevented our country from answering the general expectation otherwise than by partial, subordinate movements, which compelled the kingdom of 1815,† that core of Poland, to remain quiet. . . ."

\* M. de Circourt, whose wife, a Russian lady, is the cast-off mistress of M. de Lamartine.—Note of the Translator.

† Patched up in 1815, by the Congress of Vienna.—Note of the Translator.

## Democratic Intelligence.

### TO THE ENROLLED CHARTISTS OF ENGLAND.

Hammer-smith, Feb. 3, 1851.

FELLOW CHARTISTS,—I accept the trust which you have reposed in me as a sign that, in spite of past deceptions, you still participate in reliance on the higher motives of men; that you approve of efforts to promote union among the People, without compromising the independence of our organization; and that you sanction the desire to give our policy a more practical turn, so as to further, in the directest mode, the material well-being of the many.

I hold that you can obtain no great national measure unless you are backed by the great body of the People itself. It is equally true that you cannot obtain the recognition and permanent establishment of any power until that power exists and is displayed: you cannot obtain the Parliamentary enactment of Universal Suffrage until you have created Universal Suffrage, and used it. By that I mean that you must be able to command, not in single, convulsive, and transitory efforts, but steadily, and on every needful occasion, the manifest support of the People. But you cannot command that support, steadily and readily, unless you hold out to the People some idea more tangible than that of political power; sufficient as that idea may be for you, who constitute the thinking and active portion of the People. You must make the national policy appeal to the wants which press immediately on the immense mass of the People; thus giving to the multitude, while you struggle for political power, an earnest of the benefits which that acquisition would secure for them hereafter.

It is for these grounds that I expect the agitation for the Charter to be strengthened and forwarded if we use our organization, without further delay, to concentrate the claim of the People to the right of subsistence for labour—a fair day's wage for a fair day's work, on land, in factory, or shop; the claim to relief from taxation, by transferring it from industry to property; and the claim to improvement of the laws regulating labour—the laws of combination, partnership, contracts, and the like.

To do that there is no need to relax the movement for the Charter. On the contrary, every benefit obtained by the way will hasten your course, by strengthening the confidence of the People at your back, and manifesting your power to your opponents.

Feeling that I have your sanction in that view, I shall use every suitable opportunity to strengthen our movement by combining in our policy the great leading principles of political and social regeneration for the People.

Believe me to be your faithful servant,  
THORNTON HUNT.

### LETTERS TO CHARTISTS.

#### II.—ON POLITICAL SUICIDE.

In the letter addressed by Mr. Holyoake to Mr. Thornton Hunt, in No. 43 of this paper, there occurred a passage upon that species of political suicide which results from the voluntary abandonment of Democratic movements, owing to personal and political dislikes, which always spring up in the strife of parties and the conflict of sentiment. The passage alluded to drew forth a reply from Mr. Addiscott, in No. 45, entitled "Chartist Leaders," in which he entered a protest against being included among those who by desertion betray a public cause. All acquainted with Mr. Addiscott will readily agree in the exemption of one who works so constantly and to such excellent purpose for the welfare of the working class.

The passage to which Mr. Addiscott objected is as follows, and the justice of his criticism (which other estimable colleagues of his might urge also) has induced Mr. Holyoake to supply the qualifications indicated in the italicized words:—

"The reputation of the Chartist party in this country has sunk so low that few men believe it capable of elevation, or care to attempt it. One would suppose that no men of reputation or political knowledge have existed among the working classes for the last twelve years. Yet there has been no lack of them: but they have virtually betrayed their order. Not intending it indeed, but judging from its effects, treason is the appropriate description of the course they have chosen for themselves. They who desert a cause are practically as criminal as they who betray; if by the desertion the cause is ruined. It is too often overlooked that they who desert a democratic contest give up the cause of democracy to its enemies. It is saying that the right cannot get to rule in democracy, and to say this is to condemn it."

As the passage now stands, we ask those to consider it who, in Manchester and in London, are preparing again to inundate the Chartist movement by a disastrous flood of personalities, such as have fre-

quently before swept away, in a single week, the fruits of the toil of years and the hopes of thousands. When will there be an end to this Political suicide?

At the Manchester Conference just held, notwithstanding the indefensible mode by which it was convened, it is but just to say more good sense was talked than at any Chartist Conference held in this country for many years. Even Mr. O'Connor proposed an appeal to reason and common sense. The general disposition seemed to be in favour of that policy which would bury antagonism, abjure personalities, and hold out a friendly hand to all who work for the common weal. Many things were said strangely inconsistent with these professions, but these sayings it is not worth while to enumerate. We shall never get on unless we agree to accept whatever of good things are said, and forget the indifferent.

If the present London Executive are to do any better, or fare any better, or deserve any better than their predecessors, it must be by developing wider measures, enlarging the Chartist party, improving its character, and advancing it towards political success. Scarcely has their work begun and public expectation raised, than all is in danger of being arrested by one of those insensate exhibitions which only Chartists can get up, and only Chartists tolerate.

At the conference to which we have referred, Mr. Hirst was pleased to bring an accusation against a member of the London Executive; Mr. O'Connor amplified it. So badly have the Chartist public been educated, that the London localities have taken up this irrelevant subject, and the great meeting at John-street, on Tuesday evening, actually passed a resolution calling upon the Executive to investigate the matter. It has been said, "Frailty, thy name is woman:" it might be said with more truth, "Frailty, thy name is Chartism!"

Great Britain, wherever any spot in it has a Chartist section, has been called upon to elect this Executive. It was said, and is assumed, that thousands of poor men are anxious for political and social progress, and to aid them persons not before publicly associated in the work have freely accepted the unpopular and critical trust of executive direction. By what agency is the directing body to be diverted from their task? By what power is their work to be arrested? Is the Government their opponent? Does the Demon of Class-made Law frown in their path? One man in an obscure room in Manchester rises in an assembly of scarcely half-a-dozen persons, and makes a personal remark of no public consequence whatever, which is reported only in one paper, and forthwith the entire country is to be agitated with a passionate controversy as to whether Mr. Snooks is to be believed against Mr. Speckles, when the subject admitted of no doubt whatever; and if it did it is no business of the public's. Until this form of political suicide is put an end to our political movements will be at the mercy of every man who chooses to invent or utter a ridiculous personality. Lox.

NATIONAL CHARTER ASSOCIATION.—The Executive Committee of the body held their usual weekly meeting on Wednesday evening last. The whole of the committee, Mr. O'Connor excepted, were present. Mr. Thornton Hunt, the newly-elected member, was introduced by Mr. Holyoake. Mr. Le Blond presided. Correspondence was received from Bingley, Halifax, Newport (Isle of Wight), Northampton, and South Shields. On the motion of Messrs. Holyoake and Harney, it was unanimously resolved:—"In reference to the notice given last week by Mr. Jones, the Executive, considering that the people have a perfect right to elect whom they please to represent their interests, resolve that a simple notification be published; that members of the Executive be considered eligible to be elected as delegates to the forthcoming convention. The secretary reported that the financial statement, from February to the 25th of December last, which had been delayed in order to allow time for several localities to send in their returns, was now prepared, and was ordered to be audited forthwith. The secretary stated that on the previous evening a resolution had been unanimously adopted, at the public meeting, held in the hall of the institution, John-street, requesting the Executive Committee to investigate the statements made by Mr. O'Connor at Manchester, relative to Mr. G. J. Harney, and report the result to a public meeting to be called for that purpose. Next Wednesday evening be specially appointed for the Executive to enter on the matter. Messrs. Shaw, Newley, and Cummins attended as a deputation from the United Councils of the Tower Hamlets on the subject they previously introduced. They had been instructed to call the attention of the Executive to what had been reported in the proceedings of Manchester, as to what Mr. O'Connor had said regarding Mr. Harney. Messrs. Roberts and Hoppy attended as a deputation from the Washington locality to solicit the assistance of the Executive in reorganizing that locality. The deputation were assured that the committee would do their utmost to foster the localities.

THE QUEEN'S SPEECH.—On Tuesday evening the John-street Hall, Fitzroy-square, was crowded to excess by a meeting convened by the Chartist executive to consider the Queen's speech. Mr. Ruffy presided, and a resolution of qualified satisfaction with the Queen's speech was spoken to by Messrs. Bezer, Holyoake, Ernest Jones, O'Brien, and Harney, and carried unanimously.



## Associative Progress.

**THE PEOPLE'S CO-OPERATIVE BENEFIT BUILDING SOCIETY.**—We have received the third annual report of this society (where situated the report says not), we believe at Greenwich, from which we learn that 368½ new shares have been taken up during the year, making a total to this time of 980½ shares held by investing members; these, added to the extra shares, 70 in number, held by borrowing members, produce a total of 1050½ shares in force at this time. The amount appropriated during the year is £4263. Total sum appropriated to members to this date, £8132 12s.

The committee for the formation of a Co-operative Store in connection with the London Association of Working Tailors, 432, Oxford-street, held their first meeting on Tuesday evening, at the John-street Institution; Mr. H. T. Holyoake in the chair. Several plans were discussed, and further deliberation arranged.

**EAST LONDON CO-OPERATIVE STORE.**—On Monday evening, January 20, a tea party and ball took place in the Brunswick-hall, Ropemakers'-fields, Limehouse. This store was commenced in June, 1847, and from meeting in a room by the light of a solitary candle they now have a little hall and shop open every Saturday evening for the sale of provisions. They now allow their members to bring articles of their own manufacture for sale or interchange. Seventy members have taken up shares to the amount of £2 each, and many of them have been paid up by the members sinking their profits. The total receipts of the past quarter have been about £200, the amount of profit divided 134 per cent. The store has been carried on by the gratuitous exertion of the members, and much of the decorations and fittings of the hall have been done by the willing hands of unpaid workers.—JAMES BENNY.

**CO-OPERATIVE STORES.**—Mr. Hardingham, of Worcester, will get the information he desires by writing to the manager, 76, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square.

**REDEMPTION SOCIETY.**—With respect to the forthcoming election of candidates for the Welsh Community, we have to say, that all boot and shoemakers being single, who mean to become candidates, must make their intentions known. They must provide written testimonials of character. If, by an incorrect testimonial, an individual should get elected, and on arriving at the community is found inefficient, disappointment will be the result. These testimonials must be sent in not later than the 14th of February. It must be understood that these documents have to be rewritten and sent to all the branches; this requires time, hence the necessity of being in early with them. In each branch an electoral meeting must be held. The testimonials must all be read to the meetings. After this, it is usual to solicit remarks and information on the facts stated. And then the votes of the members must be taken by ballot. Donors and candidates are not eligible to vote. Members are those who have been candidates for six months and upwards, and have paid sixpence for their cards of membership, and been elected full members. The numbers of votes must be sent to Leeds immediately, where they will be counted, and the results of the elections duly declared. Moneys received for the week ending Jan. 27, 1851:—Leeds, £2 7s. 3d.; Huddersfield, per Mr. Studdard, £1; Hyde, per Mr. J. Brady, 8s. 8d.; Sunderland, per Mr. J. Chapman, 6d.; Communal Building Fund, Leeds, 5s.; Hyde, per Mr. J. Brady, 2s. For the week ending Feb. 3, 1851:—Leeds, £1 9s. 4d.; Burnly, Mr. Huttly, 12s.; Edenborough, Mr. Renton, 1s.; Gildersome, Mr. Dixon, 4s. 2d.; Berkenshaw, 2s. Communal Building Fund: Coventry, Mr. Shuffelebotham, 6s.; Duggleley, Mr. Turner, 2s. 6d.; Berkenshaw, 1s.

**HALIFAX.**—In consequence of the letters by Ion, we determined to do something towards carrying into effect the principles of co-operation, and I report that we have opened a small store. We number fifty members, with a good prospect of increase. Our rules have been passed unanimously, and we are going to have them enrolled, when I will forward you a copy. The shares are £2 per member, payable at not less than 4d. per week, the profits to remain until increased to £5, £3 to be drawn in case of sickness, &c. The profits, after paying expense of management and five per cent., to be divided according to the amount spent at the store. A deputation of Messrs. White and Baldwin are appointed to visit our Rochdale friends, to inquire as to their plan of doing business, and gain all other information possible. Halifax has always been noted for its activity and usefulness in promoting every progressive movement, and its Educational and Literary Institutions testify to the intelligence of its people. It has now taken up the question of association with zeal. The Halifax Class of the Nation at the Redemption Society, now numbers 128 members and sixteen donors, all ardently working. They have just remitted to Leeds, £16 13s. 2½d. and a saddle and bridle, as a new year's gift to the community in Wales. They meet twice a week, and take *Owen's Journal*, the *Christian Socialist*, and the *Leader*, &c. They feel much indebted to the *Leader* for the faithful reports and manly advocacy of association, and are delighted to learn of its success and cheering prospects. There is also a co-operative store in operation, which is rapidly progressing in numbers of members. They recently deputed two members to the Rochdale Store, to gain information in management, &c., and they returned, much pleased with the kind attention they received. The Halifax Store intend renting or purchasing more commodious premises for carrying on the objects of the society, the present being much too small. Their first annual festival took place on New Year's-day. Mr. Dobson, the president, in the chair. The meeting was addressed by Messrs. Nicholson, sen., White, Wyndham, and Baldwin. There are two Co-operative Stores in the immediate vicinity, which have been a number of years in existence, and have produced very profitable results to the individual members.—R. B.



## Open Council.

[IN THIS DEPARTMENT, AS ALL OPINIONS, HOWEVER EXTREME, ARE ALLOWED AN EXPRESSION, THE EDITOR NECESSARILY HOLDS HIMSELF RESPONSIBLE FOR NONE.]

There is no learned man but will confess he hath much profited by reading controversies, his senses awakened, and his judgment sharpened. If, then, it be profitable for him to read, why should it not, at least, be tolerable for his adversary to write.—MILTON.

### LETTERS ON UNITARIANISM.

#### LETTER VII.

Dec. 16, 1850.

SIR,—Though the Unitarian faith makes its recipients proud, it has not the power to render them zealous in its diffusion. From the excellence which they attribute to their system, from the elevating and regenerating tendencies which they ascribe to it, we should suppose that they would be ready to peril all and expend all, to spread its dominion over the earth. But precisely in proportion to the superiority which they claim for their tenets, are they careless about their dissemination. So far from distinguishing themselves by that incessant propagandism which I have spoken of as one of the grand agencies in the success of sects, they can scarcely be said to be Propagandists at all. In many Unitarian congregations, there is scarcely any allusion all the year round to the peculiar Unitarian theology. Now, for a truly noble spiritual teacher, there must always be higher things than Propagandist preaching. The prophet's soul can pour its pith into nothing but the prophet's work. But as I am not now speaking of how the prophet can and must manifest himself, whether in one sect or another, or beyond the limit of all sects, it may still be true that while the prophet puts forth his being in broader, bolder, holier action, it is the duty of the ordinary preacher, for the sake of his sect to be a Propagandist. Yet, it is a duty which Unitarian ministers have a great dislike to performing; partly from indolence and timidity; partly lest they should be called sectarian; and also, because they know how unpalatable are dogmatic statement and controversial conflict to the leading members of their flocks. There is abundance of sectarian feeling and no small portion of sectarian bitterness in the Unitarian body; but it is for those who dare to be vehement and apostolic realities within the body, that the sectarian venom is reserved. So, whatever is beyond the body, that which Unitarianism is most ambitious to take, is a perfectly unsectarian attitude; that is to say, no attitude at all. For a sect must be sectarian or it is nothing. The more it is sectarian the more it accomplishes the objects for which it exists as a sect. And if sectarian, then intolerant, since it is not there before the world in an organic shape for the purpose of proclaiming and practising tolerance, but in order to give sway to certain principles. A sect which admits that other sects may by possibility be right, should forthwith pass an act of self-abolition. Hereby, I am offering no encouragement to such furious fanaticism as that which is now foaming and bellowing like a wild beast through the length and breadth of England.

Fanaticism has no relation to truth or falsehood at all. It is simply the brutal howl of a ferocious and unreasoning antipathy. But we ought not, and especially a sect ought not, in order to escape the charge of being fanatical, to use such mild and mincing words, and to take such slow and hesitating steps, that not merely earnestness, but the appearance thereof, vanishes. A sect lifts up its standard in vain unless it assumes that it alone is in possession of the truth. If it disclaim that assumption, why is the standard lifted up? All falsehood is devilish and damnable. Else why not banish the word falsehood from human language altogether? A sect, therefore, must be incessantly propagandist, incessantly enouncing its own doctrines as true, incessantly assailing the opposite doctrines as false; otherwise men must conclude that in spite of loud boasting and ostentatious capers now and then, it has really no doctrines to teach. There is, it is true, a society in London under the formidable title of the "British and Foreign Unitarian Association." But the extent of its exertions corresponds but little to the ambition of its name. The only trace of its existence which it gives is to spend a day once a year in self-glorifi-

cation. A sermon is preached in the morning generally on the same old topic, the power of Unitarianism to change the earth into a universal paradise; a power however, which, being hoarded like a miser's gold, benefits nobody. After the sermon there is a meeting for business at which the accounts are read. Then there is a dinner. Here the most approved Whig politics are the order of the day. Some fat alderman is stuck into the chair, the Unitarians being exceedingly fond of small notabilities in the absence of great ones. "Civil and Religious Liberty all the world over," of course introduces an allusion to Lord John Russell, which is received with a storm of applause, that puniest of the pigmies being regarded by a sect whose chief political element is Whiggery as a kind of archangel, a miracle of patriotic virtue, of oratorical genius, of wisdom and courage as a statesman. The health of the preacher in the morning is proposed, his sermon having been "the most eloquent to which the chairman ever listened." The preacher in reply makes a speech praising himself, praising the Unitarian sect, and praising the Whigs. Then the secretary of the society makes a speech praising the Whigs, the Unitarian sect, but above all and chiefly himself. Then three or four other persons make speeches praising the Unitarian sect, themselves, and the Whigs. Finally, the chairman makes a speech praising the Whigs, the Unitarian sect, and the chairman. And so the farce ends. The Unitarians can swallow as much humbug as most men. But the "British and Foreign Unitarian Association," with its immense pretensions and its utter imbecility, has become rather more than many of them could stand. Some earnest young men have, therefore, set on foot what is called "The London District Unitarian Society," which, whatever its shortcomings, has, perhaps, done as much as it had the means of doing. Even, however, if preachers and others in the Unitarian body were animated in the highest degree with the spirit of valiant and pertinacious propagandism, it would be difficult for them to attempt anything of a comprehensive or conquering kind from sheer want of funds.

It is notorious that the Unitarians, especially the wealthier among them, have a very strong and decided objection to pay down hard cash for spreading abroad the knowledge of that faith which they are continually declaring to be the truest, the best, and the most beautiful. It is so true, so good, and so beautiful, that they are afraid, I suppose, of polluting and degrading it by bringing it into too close contact with so wretched a thing as money. The grand "British and Foreign Unitarian Association," from whose sounding name we should expect agencies numerous and potent enough to shake the solid globe, does not raise more than four or five hundred pounds a year; whereas, if the Unitarians were to subscribe as liberally as other sects, they ought to raise just twenty times as much. Where a wealthy Wesleyan gives a hundred pounds, a wealthy Unitarian thinks he is making an enormous effort in giving a shabby guinea or two. If, as the orthodox say, the Unitarian religion be abominable, it has the prodigious advantage of being, in this age of cheapness, one of the cheapest. And, really, is it not asking too much of the Unitarians that, along with their abounding liberality of sentiment, they should have at the same time liberality of purse? No one can have all virtues; and, if a man spends all his days in making sublime professions of charity, why should you be so wanting in taste as to require him to put his hand in his pocket? And yet, somehow or other, it happens in these degenerate days that money is indispensable to the success of every undertaking, whether large or small. In ancient times, when a noble hospitality flourished along with other noble things, Saint Paul could travel from land to land, and convert nations to the Gospel, with no other income on which he could count but insults and buffetings. In these Brummagem generations, when every human being you meet is drunk with the dream of gold, gold you must have, whether the object be to cut a railroad or to abolish a corn-law—to raise a monument to the most stolid of dukes or to spread a religious faith.

Now, good Unitarians, my dearly beloved brethren, you must submit to this condition, or, with due expedition, retreat into the limbo of forgotten vanities. In periods when men were heroes, and rejoiced to honour the most heroic, and to exalt them into gods, they fought for their convictions. At present, political economy being omnipotent, they pay for them. Formerly they poured forth their blood; now they pour forth their pence. If, therefore, the Unitarians are to make converts to their belief, they must vastly increase both their expenditure and their machinery.

The Methodists say that every soul costs a guinea, that being the sum required, according to their spiritual statistics, for accomplishing every single conversion. To the Unitarians the article would probably fall rather dearer, as they are not quite such experienced dealers, and have some disadvantages compared to their competitors in the market. But they ought, like brave men, to make up their mind to the necessity, charming open their reluctant flints with the magic words—No cash, no conversion.

It is a pregnant fact that though there exists a "British and Foreign Unitarian Association," the

Unitarians have never yet, as far as I know, sent from England a single missionary. Now this is a damning circumstance in relation to Unitarianism, for, whatever may be the many absurdities in connection with missions, these are at least an evidence of zeal and mighty aid to stimulate and maintain the religious life of a sect. It is probable that, through that rousing which English sects have received from the so-called Papal aggression, which has been met by so much Protestant oppression, and in resisting which the Popery of the Conventicle has shown itself to be a thousand times more odious than the Popery of the Vatican, the Unitarians will be stirred up to more strenuous exertions, and will be shamed out of their snail's pace. They are incapable, from the nature of their system, of rising much higher than a new phase of Protestantism: and it would be difficult to determine whether Protestantism or Romanism has more of kindredness to what is dead. Both alike are rotten and exhausted. Still, within the limits of that transformation, Unitarianism has room for a considerable amount of action and propagandism, since it is the only Protestant sect which can take a stride forward without an entire abandonment of its distinctive character. That stride it can scarcely fail to take, after the becoming and dignified part which the Unitarians have been playing in the Papal agitation. To be sure, they have been sadly puzzled between their traditional tolerance and their superstitious reverence for Lord John Russell and the Whigs. But the former has unquestionably prevailed. Some admirable articles have appeared in the *Inquirer*, the newspaper organ of the Unitarian body, against converting England into one wide den of shrieking bigotry. To defend the traduced, to shield the down-trodden, is to be magnanimous and brave. It is from such conduct that the Unitarians can derive their best lesson of propagandism. ARTICUS.

#### WHAT ARE THE PENALTIES ON DISBELIEF?

Dublin, Jan. 31, 1851.

SIR,—I venture to suggest that some reader of yours, well acquainted with the law, would do good service by investigating the following question, and laying the result of his inquiry before the public:—

"What are the civil and political disabilities and penalties legally imposed or imposable on persons professing disbelief in the inspiration of the Bible and the reality of the Christian miracles; and also on persons confessing their doubts of the existence of a God or of a future state of rewards and punishments?"

I think the time is fully come for insisting on perfect religious freedom; and the first step towards securing that great end is to ascertain what are the existing hindrances to it. Yours, M. S.

#### PROGRESS OF THE "QUARTERLY REVIEW."

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Jan. 25.

MR. LEADER,—I was no less surprised than gratified on reading the last number of the violent old *Quarterly Review* at its evident improved tone, and the advance of some of its papers on liberal and progressive principles. It being an expensive publication, it will seldom fall into the hands of the working man; and, therefore, I am desirous of placing on record and within their reach, the last-exposed mean action of one of the meanest and vilest of created things that was ever distinguished as one of "God's anointed Kings." In an article on the much-veiled and often-discussed question of the British Museum, the reviewer completely unveils to the gaze and contempt of every right-thinking man, the despicable conduct of the King who was nicknamed by his servile sycophants, "the first gentleman of Europe." In 1829, this Tory review did with fulsome praise extol the munificence of George the Fourth, for presenting to the nation what was called the Royal Library, but which was purchased with money coming from the people of England. The cry was echoed and re-echoed by all the small fry of King worshippers, at his extreme liberality. But, lo! the same Review, in 1851 has changed its tune, and has presented a true history of the transaction, which, for low truckling and meanness, stands unparalleled even in the character and reign of the Fourth George. Here follows the history, as related by the Tory reviewer; for the truth of which, there is not a shadow of doubt:—

"Public attention was still more attracted to the Museum in 1828, on the reception of the fine library formed by George the Third, who, immediately on his accession, being of opinion (unlike his grandfather), that the King of England should have a library, began by purchasing for £10,000 the books of Mr. Smith, our consul at Venice, and next sent a good hand to the Continent to procure others. It was on that occasion that Dr. Johnson wrote the remarkable letter, printed in the preface of the catalogue of this library, explanatory of the principles on which a good one ought to be made. By the steady expenditure of £2000 a-year, from 1762 to 1822, upwards of 65,000 volumes had been purchased; and it was then announced, that George the Fourth had presented the whole to the public. A select committee of the House of Commons reported April 18, 1823, that a new 'fire-proof' building ought to be raised to receive the royal library, and expressed the 'strongest gratitude'

to the reigning Prince for 'this act of munificent liberality, and his Majesty's disposition to promote the science and literature of the country.' The secret history we believe to have been this, King George IV. having some pressing call for money, did not decline a proposition for selling the library in question to the Emperor of Russia. Mr. Heber, having ascertained that the books were actually booked for the Baltic, went to Lord Sidmouth, then Home Secretary, and stated the case, observing 'What a shame it would be that such a collection should go out of the country;' to which Lord Sidmouth replied, 'No, Heber, it shall not;' and it did not. On the remonstrance of Lord Sidmouth, of whose manly and straightforward character George IV. was very properly in awe, the last of the *Grand Monarques* presented the books to the Museum on the condition that the value of the rubles they were to have fetched should be somehow or other made good to him by Ministers in pounds sterling. This was done out of the surplus of certain funds furnished by France for the compensation of losses by the Revolution. But his Ministers, on a hint from the House of Commons that it was necessary to refund these monies, had recourse, we are told, to the droits of the Admiralty."

Well and bravely done, *Quarterly Review*! Who wrote the article is of little consequence, whether it was by Lockhart or Croker, the man who possessed so much influence with the fat King: it shows the way the wind is blowing, and what time and public opinion can do when they predict that George IV. was *The Last of the Grand Monarques*.

I am, Mr. Leader, yours most truly,

J. L. THORNTON.

#### THE ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS.

Feb. 3, 1851.

SIR,—My former letter contained a brief account of the close monopoly of Doctors' Commons; twenty-seven advocates, and some 220 proctors constituting the legal staff for England and Wales. I will now proceed to inquire into the jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Courts.

The Provincial Courts of Canterbury and York are independent of each other, the process of one province not running into the other; but the archiepiscopal jurisdiction is exercised much in the same manner in both provinces. The Arches Court is the first of the three principal Archiepiscopal Courts of Canterbury, and exercises an appellate jurisdiction from each of the Diocesan and most of the Peculiar Courts within the province. It takes cognizance of causes from these courts by letters of request, has original jurisdiction on subtraction of legacy given by wills proved in the Prerogative Court, where the Dean of Arches has presided for many years.

The Prerogative Court has jurisdiction of all wills and administrations of personal property left by persons dying possessed of *bona notabilia*, or personal property to the value of five pounds in divers jurisdictions (in two or more dioceses, or two or more courts in the same diocese) within the province. Four-fifths of the contentious business and a much larger part of the uncontested or common form business, is dispatched by this court, and from the great increase of personal property, it has become of high public importance, its authority being necessary to the administration of the effects of all persons dying possessed of personal property of the specified amount within the province, whether leaving a will or dying intestate. The law on the subject of *bona notabilia* is complicated and ill-defined: where probate or administration is taken out in any court except the Prerogative, or certain of the Peculiar Courts within the province, if it should afterwards appear that the deceased died possessed of *bona notabilia* within another jurisdiction, the probate or administration becomes null and void; this must necessarily be productive of great unnecessary expense and delay, and where there is personal estate in both provinces, two probates or grants of administration become necessary. To remedy these evils the Ecclesiastical Commissioners recommend not merely that the whole testamentary jurisdiction be transferred to the archiepiscopal courts of the respective provinces, but that the whole jurisdiction, contentious and voluntary, of Peculiars should be abolished. Although probate be required for personal property, it is not necessary to pass real estate; and the middle classes are thus heavily taxed, which the great landed proprietors altogether escape. When personal and real estate is bequeathed by will, the validity of the instrument is tried before different tribunals, by opposite modes of obtaining evidence; and one of the most important amendments in the testamentary law, proposed by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, is the introduction of trial by jury on *oïsa voce* evidence in the Ecclesiastical Courts. The average number of wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury alone is 7000; the grants of administration 3000 yearly; and the emoluments of the registrar, whose duties are performed by deputy, amount to upwards of £5000 a-year; yet the registry, which contains the original wills of all persons leaving effects within the province of Canterbury, for the last three centuries, is a leased building never designed for the purpose, not even ascertained to be fire-proof, and is

altogether, as Mr. Dickens observes, "such a pestilential job, and such a pernicious absurdity, that but for its being squeezed away in a corner of St. Paul's Churchyard, which few people know, it must have been turned completely inside out, and upside down long ago."

The third Archiepiscopal Court of Canterbury is the Court of Peculiars, which takes cognizance of all matters arising in certain deaneries, over which the Archbishop exercises ordinary jurisdiction, and which are independent of the several bishops within whose dioceses they are situated.

I fear I must once more crave your indulgence.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant, W. C.

#### LODGING-HOUSES FOR GENTLEWOMEN.

16, Alfred-street, Bedford-square, Jan. 15, 1851.

SIR,—With reference to Miss Martineau's plan of an "Associated Home for Ladies," it occurs to me that there is a formidable, if not an insurmountable, objection in the responsibility which some of the inmates must undertake for the rent and taxes and the furniture of the house: a responsibility which no lady of small income could or would like to incur. I am convinced that many, like myself, would prefer the plan of a superior lodging-house, based on the "models" lately erected for almost every class but for "Poor Gentlewomen." A genteel yet moderately-rented home is a desideratum of which we all bitterly feel the want; and thus our limited means drive us into mean lodgings, where we are exposed to the rapacity and insolence of ignorant landlords and the pilfering of low servants. How is it that, in this age, when the lowest are cared for, our peculiar case has been overlooked by the philanthropist? To make a beginning, and until a suitable building be erected, I would suggest that the proprietor of a large house should fit it up so as to afford as many bedchambers as possible, while the largest apartment would serve as a general room, where the ladies might meet and converse, read newspapers and periodicals, or unite in their daily repasts. For furnishing the principal meal in the most convenient and economical manner, a restaurant might be added to the other arrangements of the establishment.

I think there can be no doubt that such an establishment would be immediately filled; but, to ascertain this point, I propose that those ladies concurring in my views should forward their name and address (with what suggestions they think fit) to me, as volunteer secretary, unless you, Mr. Editor, will kindly consent to receive them.

I have now taken courage and broken the ice for those who seem too timid to do so for themselves, and I wait the result.

I am, Sir, yours respectfully,

E. B.

#### ON THE POLICY OF A CONCORDAT WITH THE POPE.

Puddlicott, Oxon, Feb. 3, 1851.

SIR,—In the *Leader* of February 1, 1851, under the head of "Literature," I was surprised to see you advocating a Concordat with the Pope. It was not long since you reviewed Laing's *Observations on Europe*. You wrote and spoke of the book in terms of high favour. I suppose, therefore, you do not esteem Mr. Laing "stupid, or bigoted, or a pious Protestant who refuses to have anything to do with the Scarlet Lady." Mr. Laing recommends us to take warning from Prussia, and never enter into a concordat with the Pope. After this exhortation to his countrymen he would teach them, by example, and he gives the experience of Prussia, who made a concordat with the Pope about the beginning of this century.

Rome got the advantage in the agreement, and Prussia lost much more than she gained by an almost impalpable participation or veto in the ecclesiastical appointments made by Rome in Prussia. Prussia found she had disarmed herself of the means of resisting the aggressions of Rome, and had, in fact, sanctioned them by her treaty with the Pope. The Papal Court interpreted the concordat spiritually or ecclesiastically, at variance with the temporal construction of it by Prussia and the common law of the land. Laing mentions the dispute Prussia had with Rome and the Archbishop of Cologne on the subject of mixed marriages, which must be fresh in the recollection of your readers.

On this question the Spiritual Government of Rome, through the concordat, seems to have triumphed over the civil power of the state. Laing says the decision of the Pope insisting on the children of mixed marriages being brought up in the Roman Catholic faith is a source of great domestic misery to families in Prussia. The toleration which reigned socially in Prussia made Protestants and Roman Catholics share churches as well as the issue of the marriage bed, and taught the female to look to matrimony as deciding the union with either church, was exchanged for intolerant and ultramontane division imported from Rome. Laing gives on account of the pilgrimage to see the holy coat at Treves, which, he says, was a monster political meeting in defiance of the laws of Prussia. The Government of Prussia regulated the assemblage of



multitudes. The Court of Rome said their spiritual subjects might do as they liked on this point, that the civil power could not interfere because the concordat allowed Roman Catholics to carry out the avowed purposes of faith agreeably to their church. Prussia found herself entangled by a concordat, when without it she might have moved independently in her own policy and free from foreign interference. Without a concordat Rome has to send to Holland to know if a measure contemplated by the Papal court will be agreeable to the Dutch government. In the case alluded to, Holland refused her consent, and the project dropped on the part of Rome. Rome, I believe, would like nothing better than to force us into diplomatic relations with her. Diplomacy is a game of intrigue in which each nation hopes to gain the trick. If this be the case in temporal sovereignties and between comparatively free states, what would it be between us and the proverbial jealousy of Rome and Italian Papal sovereignty. When Rome is a republic let us enter into relations with her; but let us never acknowledge Papal usurpation, spiritual or temporal. We shall be much freer for the epoch of Rome's liberation if we have no agreement with her tyrant.

Laing wrote before the ferment of Papal aggression, and, therefore, unprejudiced by it. Nevertheless, he must have had in memory that we have incurred the danger of a concordat; and he wrote to warn us of it. With regard to the agitation of 1850 and the pending question of 1851, we may say he speaks with prophetic premonition of coming events. The issue out of the difficulty which you seem to think has been impolitically neglected, and now to profess as the proper solution, he emphatically forewarns and forewarns us against it.

Laing shows that he is not bigoted against the Roman Catholic Church, because preceding these observations on the concordat he approves of the policy which that church exercised during the middle ages and times anterior to Protestantism. He is not bigoted in favour of Protestantism; but, like Hume, he is against every form of priestcraft. The following observation, which follows the statement of his objection to a concordat is sufficient evidence of his freedom from religious prejudice. "To have no state church at all appears to be the only arrangement suitable to the present advanced condition of society, and of the public mind on religious freedom." I beg to subscribe to this sentiment. But it appears to me that in advocating a concordat, and coming to terms with the Church of Rome, you would have two establishments, two evils instead of one to deal with. The next step would probably be to pay the clergy of the Church of Rome, the inconvenience of which Laing also shows, and the advantages to public liberty in their being dependent on voluntary support. I refer you to page 400 and the pages following of his book. I would also remark, in conclusion, on a statement of yours, that you objected to Roman Catholicism as a falsehood. I do not see how, consistently with that opinion, you wish to give encouragement, authority, and support to a falsehood. W. J. BIRCH.

#### AGENERAL EFFORT FOR THE REPEAL OF THE TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE.

Cambridge, Jan. 28, 1851.

SIR,—The annual report of the Newspaper Stamp Abolition Committee, published in the *Leader* of the 11th of January, informs me that during the last session of Parliament the petitions presented in favour of the full objects of that committee numbered only 183, with 21,060 as the gross number of signatures. I also learnt from the same source that the number of local secretaries was only 64 for the whole of the United Kingdom. Two questions were suggested to my mind by the perusal of this statement. Is this paucity in the number and weight of our petitions to be taken as the index of public opinion in this matter? or is it that the proper means have not been taken for eliciting that feeling which really exists, and which is so essential to the speedy success of our cause? My hopes, and, indeed, my judgment suggest that the latter presents the true state of the case. In the face of such official statements as "the London districts are not yet organized," I can come to no other conclusion. It is, therefore, a question of serious importance to consider how the plan of action can be amended or developed before we enter upon the new campaign.

In the first place, when I compare the number of petitions and their signatures with the number of the agents of the committee in various parts of the country, I cannot help thinking but that there is much room for improvement in that quarter. True it is that new agencies are requisite, but it is equally as true that the efforts of existing agencies may be as greatly and as beneficially increased. The Newspaper Stamp Abolition Committee form the grand centre of the agitation; from them the movement receives its character and form; but they leave the execution of their plans to their appointed agents. Even then, as this committee is the centre of the whole movement, so ought each secretary to consider himself as a local centre; and in the same way that

the central committee appoint secretaries in the large towns, ought each of these in his turn to look out for others to get up petitions, &c., in the towns comprised in his district. Thus, Cambridge is surrounded by somewhat considerable towns (as Ely, Wisbeach, St. Ives, Huntingdon, Royston, Walden, &c.) from which we may reasonably expect efficient support. This system will apply to most districts where a local secretary is already appointed.

Having thus laid down a principle of a division of districts, I now come to the consideration of a fresh division; that is, a classification of the public to whom we appeal for support. This public I would divide into three classes. 1st. The trades injuriously affected by those taxes, viz., printers, paper-makers, bookbinders; 2nd. mechanics' institutes, literary societies, &c., whose laudable efforts (as educational institutions) are crippled in no small degree; and 3rd. The general public, who may support us on educational, economic, social, or political considerations. With the first, it is a question of interest; with the second, it is a matter of duty. Petitions from the first named, showing the injurious effects of these taxes upon industry, in limiting consumption, &c., cannot fail to have great weight with a free trade Parliament; a deliberate opinion upon educational questions expressed by such important bodies as mechanics' institutes must always receive the most respectful consideration at the hands of the Legislature, while petitions from the last mentioned (in the classification) ought to carry with them the influence of numbers. This classification I would therefore respectfully recommend to the consideration and adoption of all engaged in the good work. Petitions from trade societies and mechanics' institutes ought to bear an official character, and should, therefore, be signed—"by order and on behalf"—by the officers.

Local secretaries, have you printing and book-binding establishments, paper mills, or mechanics' institutes in your neighbourhood? Gain their co-operation, and you will be doing the cause "some service."

To meet the expense (which, though not very great, is still too much for one individual to bear), let the secretary gather around him a few friends and form them into a Free Knowledge Society. This has been done in Cambridge, and though the society is composed almost solely of working men, it is quite adequate for the purpose. We have issued an address, and the following is our petition:—

"To the Honourable the Commons, in Parliament Assembled,

"The humble Petition of the Inhabitants of—

"Sheweth,—That, in the opinion of your petitioners, all Laws or Taxes that impede the diffusion of knowledge, or restrict in the slightest degree the Liberty of the Press, endanger the safety of Government, and are opposed to the welfare of the nation at large.

"That the Excise Duty on Paper, the Stamp Tax on Advertisements, the Penny Stamp upon Newspapers, and the Customs Duty on Foreign Books, constitute restrictions upon the Press, which your petitioners deprecate as impolitic and unjust.

"Your petitioners, therefore, pray that the duty now levied upon Paper may immediately be abolished, as also the Penny Stamp upon Newspapers, the Stamp Tax upon Advertisements, and the Customs Duty upon Foreign Books.

"And your petitioners will ever pray."

It has been suggested that the trouble of getting the petitions prepared for signature is a barrier to their being sent from some places; to obviate this, the above petition, ready for signature, will be sent (free by post) to any part of the United Kingdom, on receipt, by the secretary (at 8, Wheeler-street, Cambridge), of twelve postage stamps; at the same time will be sent a showy placard to the following effect:—"Liberty of the Press! The Petition, for the Abolition of the Taxes on Knowledge, lies here for signature." With reference to the manner of preparing petitions, I would observe, the committee of the House are very particular as regards signatures; and we have adopted the plan of repeating the prayer of the petition at the top of every sheet of signatures, thus: "The undersigned Inhabitants of Cambridge pray that," &c.

These suggestions are respectfully offered for the consideration of those interested in the movement by one who does not desire to witness a repetition of the same figures in the next report of the committee, but rather wishes that they will be enabled to congratulate their adherents upon some success achieved. Thinking that their general adoption would greatly conduce to this result,—I remain, yours respectfully,

WESTON J. HATFIELD.

#### THE MARRIAGE BOND.

Dias, Jan. 30, 1851.

SIR,—Presuming upon that liberality of action which has characterized your editorial career, I venture to submit, for the consideration of your readers, a few thoughts on one or two aspects of the subject named at the head of this letter.

One of the most terrible curses which can befall man or woman, both in its nature and consequences, is an unequal marriage, since it affects almost every relation of life and casts its blighting influence

wherever it can exert its power. That there are cases of such a nature, will be manifest to those who carefully note the present social condition of the people, and who have sufficient intelligence to discern between the semblance and the reality of marriage. Many of them have been consummated through the hypocrisy of one of the parties in question, and all owe their existence to ignorance on the part of both. But it sometimes happens that this miserable state becomes intolerable to either the man or the wife, and a deep-seated desire is felt to dissolve a connection so ruinous to the growth of the individual soul, and subversive of the happiness of each. And, yet, forsooth, it has been wisely determined that the legal bond shall not be snapped asunder until death, with those exceptions only which literally place the separation out of the reach of all but the wealthy classes; and so it comes to pass that these two beings, without a sufficient amount of sentiments, hopes, fears, and tendencies in common to make their partnership bearable, must continue to live together in the indulgence of mutual regrets and without a solitary hope that their state will be altered by any circumstance save death in one of the two cases! What wonder that prostitution still holds its high carnival with such an inducement to its perpetration as that afforded by the evil in question; and still more, what wonder that the very institution and sacredness of marriage itself should be scoffed at by those whose only knowledge of the female sex has been gleaned from acquaintance with the most degraded and unfortunate portions of it, and who, seeing the misery resulting from those cases of unequal marriage which come under their notice, exclaim, "Away with marriage under any form or circumstance; freedom be ours."

The full treatment of this question requires volumes; I, therefore, close by apologizing for the triteness of my remarks, and with the expression of my earnest wish that your useful Journal may be made the vehicle of exposing the evil referred to and of suggesting some plans for its remedy.

I am, Sir, with much respect, yours fraternally,  
FRED. R. YOUNG.

FUNCTION OF IMAGINATION.—Every imagination of the intellect, he might have said, every creation by the mind of a merely logical thing or existence, that is, of a thing or existence lying wholly out of the inventory of real objects, is an extension of the human sphere, an aid in the future evolution of the human universe. It is the function of man not only to cultivate his instincts of sociability, not only to illuminate and ennoble the whole sphere of his existing relations with the world as it exists up to the present point, but also by the generation of new thoughts, notions, chimeras, and mental combinations, to contribute to the general mental development and increase which time unceasingly promotes. Hence conceptions like that of Oberon and Titania, or like that of the Damsel with the dulcimer, and poetry like that of Spenser or that of Keats, are by no means waste; they do not, it is true, add aught either of brightness or of heat to the already glowing sphere of human relations and concerns, but they are so many feathery threads the more for that silver fringe of the possible wherewith the golden orb of the actual is surrounded; and the time may come when the fringe too shall be overtaken by the expanding radiance, and all the ideal that the human phantasy may have originated shall, by Divine and Omnipotent decree, be absorbed and incorporated in the established real.—*North British Review*, No. 27.

SOCIAL LITERATURE.—Collect all the books, pamphlets, and papers that constitute our literature of social reference; or assemble all our men of letters that have contributed to that literature, so as to learn their private aspirations and opinions with respect to the social problem; and the last word, the united vote will still be, The Organization of Labour on the Associative Principle. There are of course dissentients, but such is the vote of the majority; and so far as the vote is of value, it may be asserted that a decree of the literary faculty of the country has gone forth, declaring the avatar of political economy, if not as a science of facts, at least as a supreme rule of government, to be near its close. If so, what a contrast there is between the thoughts of our parliamentary and official men on social topics, and the thoughts of the general intellect of the country! Within the parliamentary and official circle we find, with one or two exceptions, nothing but the smallest and most timid order of conceptions—a detritus of old Whig and Tory traditions that never had much in them; without that circle, and dashing against it so as to threaten it with a speedy overflow, is a sea of vague and daring speculation. Within Parliament, the very principle of procedure seems to be to avoid "large" measures; without Parliament, nothing but "large" measures are proposed—Ateliers Nationaux, Peasant Proprietorships, forms of Universal Socialism, schemes of National Education. It is not difficult to see the reason of this fact. Now, more than ever, it is from the middle or moneyed class, the men of deliberation and speciality, that our official men and legislators are chosen. Few are the representatives of the proletariat that have yet penetrated within the charmed circle, carrying with them, as they did in France after the recent revolution, their impetuosity, their eagerness for wholesale measures, their hob-nailed impatience of routine and compromise; while of representatives of the literary order of the community there are indubitably fewer in the English Parliament now than there were in the days of Walpole or Pitt. Hence the spectacle alluded to—the official statecraft of the country pecking pertinaciously at mere minutiae; the country itself tearing vehemently at all manner of generalities.—*North British Review*, No. 27.

# HEALTH OF LONDON DURING THE WEEK. (From the Registrar-General's Report.)

The decrease in the deaths of London, which was announced in the last return, has been followed by an increase to the same extent, and the rate of mortality is again equal to that which prevailed during the first two weeks of January. The deaths, which in the previous week were 966, have risen to 1041—a number which nearly coincides with the average (namely, 1089) as derived from the returns of ten corresponding weeks in 1841-50, but they are less by 114 than this average, if it be corrected on the assumption that population has increased at the same rate as it did between the censuses of 1831 and 1841. In the epidemic class, small-pox was fatal to 16 children and three men, whose ages were between 20 and 35 (the 19 deaths from this disease showing a decrease of 13 on the previous week). Out of the whole number of cases in which small-pox was fatal, it is stated that only in 3 had vaccination been performed. The births of 773 boys and 764 girls, in all 1537 children, were registered in the week. The average number of six corresponding weeks of 1845-50 was 1395.

	Ten Weeks of 1841-50.	Week of 1851.
Zymotic Diseases .. .. .	2028	230
Dropsy, Cancer, and other diseases of un- certain or variable seat .. .. .	528	41
Tubercular Diseases .. .. .	1759	199
Diseases of the Brain, Spinal Marrow, Nerves, and Senses .. .. .	1305	118
Diseases of the Heart and Blood-vessels ..	336	42
Diseases of the Lungs and of the other Or- gans of Respiration .. .. .	2984	206
Diseases of the Stomach, Liver, and other Organs of Digestion .. .. .	584	46
Diseases of the Kidneys, &c. .. .. .	88	9
Childbirth, diseases of the Uterus, &c. ..	113	6
Rheumatism, diseases of the Bones, Joints, &c. .. .. .	74	6
Diseases of the Skin, Cellular Tissue, &c. ..	11	3
Malformations .. .. .	27	4
Premature Birth and Debility .. .. .	214	24
Atrophy .. .. .	155	22
Age .. .. .	749	49
Sudden .. .. .	135	9
Violence, Privation, Cold, and Intemperance	221	15
Total (including unspecified causes), 18501		1041

(From the Quarterly Return of the Registrar-General.) This return comprises the births and deaths registered by 2189 registrars in all the districts of England during the autumn quarter ending December 31, 1850; and the marriages in more than 12,000 churches or chapels, 2869 registered places of worship unconnected with the established church, and 623 superintendent registrars' offices, in the quarter that ended September 30, 1850.

**MARRIAGES.**—The marriages celebrated in the summer quarter ending September 30 were 37,496, or more by 10,000 than were registered in the summer quarter of 1842; and 2400 more than have been returned in the summer quarter of any previous years. Allowing for increase of population, the proportion of marriages is greater than it has been in the same season of any year since the registration commenced.

**BIRTHS.**—The births in the quarter following, which ended on December 31, 1850, were also the greatest number ever registered in the autumn quarters of any previous year. 146,268 children were born in the three months. The births are in general most numerous in the spring quarter, and were so in the spring of 1850. They have since greatly exceeded the numbers registered in previous years in all the divisions of the kingdom, whether agricultural or manufacturing, in counties ravaged by cholera, and in counties left unscathed by that plague.

**INCREASE OF POPULATION.**—The excess of births registered over deaths in the quarter is 54,245. The usual excess is 40,000 more births than deaths; the excess in the last quarter of 1845 was 50,000; in 1847, when influenza was epidemic, only 24,000; in 1849, when the cholera epidemic was rapidly declining, 38,000. In the last quarter of the year 1850, 56,971 emigrants left the ports of the United Kingdom at which there are Government emigration officers; 3836 departed from Irish ports, 1903 from Glasgow and Greenock, and 51,232 from three English ports—namely, 1702 from Plymouth, 4282 from London, and 45,248 from Liverpool. During the whole of the year 1850 the births were 593,567, the deaths 369,679, and consequently the excess of births over deaths was 223,888 in England. The same year 280,843 emigrants sailed from the shores of the United Kingdom—214,606 (many of them of Irish birth) from England, 15,154 from Scotland, and 51,083 from Ireland.

**STATE OF THE PUBLIC HEALTH.**—That the health of the country is in a state not so unsatisfactory as it has been is evident from the reduced mortality. 92,023 deaths were registered; and allowing for the probable increase of population, the rate of mortality is lower than it has been in any of the last quarters of the years 1839-50, except 1845. The rate has been such that 1 in 197 of the population died in the quarter. The chances were 190 to 1 in this quarter that a person would live through the three months; the average chance of living through the three months in England is 184 to 1. In every division of England the mortality has declined, and been lower than in the corresponding quarters of 1846, 1847, and 1849. Lancashire and Cheshire present the greatest fluctuations. The comparatively good health of several districts is ascribed by the registrars to the employment and the improved condition of the people.

**TAME SNAKE.**—A lad whom I knew kept a common snake in London, which he had rendered so tame that it was quite at ease with him and very fond of its master. When taken out of its box it would creep up his sleeve, come out at the top, wind itself caressingly about his neck and face, and when tired retire to sleep in his bosom.—From Fraser for February.

## Commercial Affairs.

### MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

SA. This has been another dull week in the market for the English Funds. On Monday there was a decline of  $\frac{1}{4}$  in the price of Consols, but since then prices have been without much variation. The closing prices yesterday were 96 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 96 $\frac{3}{4}$ . Yesterday the market opened firm at the same prices, but again became flat, and closed at 96 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 96 $\frac{3}{4}$ . The fluctuations during the week have been limited, except in the Exchequer-Bill Market, which was rather depressed on Thursday for a short time, owing to the presence of some sellers. Consols, 96 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 96 $\frac{3}{4}$ ; Bank Stock, 214 to 215; Three-and-a-Quarter per Cents., 98 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 99; Exchequer Bills, 54s. to 61s. premium. The market for Foreign Securities was well supported in the beginning of the week, and Spanish and Mexican stock showed a slight tendency to advance. The bargains in the official list yesterday, comprised the following:—Brazilian at 92 and 91 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Danish Five per Cents., 103; Ecuador, 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{1}{4}$ ; Peruvian, 80 $\frac{1}{2}$  and 81; the Deferred, 36 $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{1}{4}$ ; Portuguese Four per Cents., 33 $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{1}{4}$  ex div.; Russian Five per Cents., 113 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; the Four-and-a-Half per Cents., 97 $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{1}{4}$ ; Spanish Five per Cents., 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; the Three per Cents., 38 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Belgian Four-and-a-Half per Cents., 92; Dutch Two-and-a-Half per Cents., 58 $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$ , and  $\frac{1}{8}$ ; and the Four per Cent. Certificates, 91 $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{1}{4}$ .

MARK-LANE, FRIDAY, FEB. 7. The supplies of Wheat this week are only moderate, but the large quantity which arrived last week continues to press heavily on the market. For Wheat on the spot prices are dropping, but floating cargoes are held at former rates, at which not much business is doing. A large arrival of Foreign Barley renders it impossible to effect sales without submitting to a decline of 6d. a quarter. This, however, holders are unwilling to do until the lay days of the vessels have expired; so that we cannot quote the trade generally cheaper. The supplies of Oats are fully equal to the demand, and Monday's prices are with difficulty supported.

	English.	Irish.	Foreign.	Flour.
Wheat .. .. .	2190	4230	—	—
Barley .. .. .	4260	10,490	—	—
Oats .. .. .	6230	17000	11,530	—

### BANK OF ENGLAND.

An Account, pursuant to the Act 7th and 8th Victoria, cap. 32, for the week ending on Saturday, the 1st of February, 1850, ISSUED DEPARTMENT.

	£	Notes issued .. .. .	£
Government Debt, 11,015,100			
Other Securities .. .. .	2,984,900		
Gold Coin and Bullion .. .. .	13,674,848		
Silver Bullion .. .. .	39,667		
	£27,704,515		£27,704,515

	£	Notes issued .. .. .	£
Proprietors' Capital, 14,553,000			
Reserve .. .. .	3,335,113		
Public Deposits (including Exchequer Savings Banks, Commissioners of National Debt, and Dividend Accounts) .. .. .	6,051,128		
Other Deposits .. .. .	9,787,615		
Seven-day and other Bills .. .. .	1,182,602		
	£34,809,458		£34,809,458

Dated Feb. 6, 1851. M. MARSHALL, Chief Cashier.

### BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.

	Satur.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.	Frid.
Bank Stock .. .. .	214	214	214	214	214	214
3 per Cent. Red .. .. .	97	97	97	97	97	97
3 p. C. Con. An. .. .. .	96	96	96	96	96	96
3 p. C. An. 1736 .. .. .	96	96	96	96	96	96
3 p. C. Con. An. .. .. .	96	96	96	96	96	96
3 p. C. An. 1736 .. .. .	96	96	96	96	96	96
New 5 per Cts. .. .. .	123	123	123	123	123	123
Long An. 1860 .. .. .	7 13-16	7 13-16	7 13-16	7 13-16	7 13-16	7 13-16
Ind. St. 10 p. Ct. .. .. .	66	66	66	66	66	66
Ditto Bonds .. .. .	68 p	68 p	68 p	68 p	68 p	68 p
Ex. Bills, 1000l. .. .. .	58 p	58 p	58 p	58 p	58 p	58 p
Ditto, 500l. .. .. .	61 p	61 p	61 p	61 p	61 p	61 p
Ditto, Small .. .. .	61 p	61 p	61 p	61 p	61 p	61 p

### FOREIGN FUNDS.

	£	Notes issued .. .. .	£
Austrian 5 per Cents. .. .. .	75 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Belgian Bds., 4 p. Ct. .. .. .	92 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Brazilian 5 per Cents. .. .. .	92		
Buenos Ayres 6 p. Cts. .. .. .	—		
Chilian 6 per Cents. .. .. .	—		
Danish 5 per Cents. .. .. .	103		
Dutch 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ per Cents. .. .. .	58 $\frac{1}{2}$		
— 4 per Cents. .. .. .	91 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Ecuador Bonds .. .. .	3 $\frac{1}{2}$		
French 5 p. C. An. at Paris 96.50			
— 3 p. Cts., Feb. 7, 59.80			
Mexican 5 per Cts. Ace. 33 $\frac{1}{2}$			
— Small .. .. .	—		
Neapolitan 5 per Cents. .. .. .	—		
Peruvian 4 p. Cents. .. .. .	—		
Portuguese 5 per Cents. .. .. .	—		
— 4 p. Cts. 33 $\frac{1}{2}$			
— Annuities .. .. .	—		
Russian, 1852, 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ p. Cts. 97 $\frac{1}{2}$			
Span. Active, 5 p. Cts. 18 $\frac{1}{2}$			
— Passive .. .. .	—		
— Deferred .. .. .	—		

AVERAGE PRICE OF SUGAR. The average price of Brown or Muscovado Sugar, computed from the returns made in the week ending the 4th day of February, 1851, is 27s. 10d. per cwt.

	Butter—Best Fresh, 13s. 6d. to 14s. per dos.
Carlow, £4 0s. to £4 4s. per cwt.	
Bacon, Irish .. .. .	per cwt. 44s. to 46s.
Cheese, Cheshire .. .. .	42
Derby, Plain .. .. .	44
Hams, York .. .. .	50
Eggs, French, per 120, 4s. 9d. to 5s. 6d.	

### SHARES.

RAILWAYS.		BANKS.	
Caledonian .. .. .	108	Australasian .. .. .	20
Eastern Counties .. .. .	7	British North American .. .. .	20
Edinburgh and Glasgow .. .. .	32	Colonial .. .. .	10
Great Northern .. .. .	17 $\frac{1}{2}$	Commercial of London .. .. .	27
Great North of England .. .. .	74	London and Westminster .. .. .	27
Great S. & W. (Ireland) .. .. .	42 $\frac{1}{2}$	London Joint Stock .. .. .	27
Great Western .. .. .	91	National of Ireland .. .. .	11
Hull and Selby .. .. .	103 $\frac{1}{2}$	National Provincial .. .. .	—
Lancashire and Yorkshire .. .. .	57	Provincial of Ireland .. .. .	—
Lancaster and Carlisle .. .. .	74	Union of Australia .. .. .	—
London, Brighton, & S. Coast .. .. .	95	Union of London .. .. .	12 $\frac{1}{2}$
London and Blackwall .. .. .	74		
London and N.-Western .. .. .	120 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Midland .. .. .	57		
North British .. .. .	9		
South-Eastern and Dover .. .. .	24 $\frac{1}{2}$		
South-Western .. .. .	89		
York, Newcastle, & Berwick .. .. .	20 $\frac{1}{2}$		
York and North Midland .. .. .	21 $\frac{1}{2}$		
East and West India .. .. .	—		
London .. .. .	—		
St. Katharine .. .. .	—		

GRAIN, MARK-LANE, FEB. 7.	
Wheat, R. New 31s. to 36s.	28s. to 31s.
White .. .. .	31
Boilers .. .. .	25
Beans, Ticks .. .. .	22
Indian Corn .. .. .	25
Oats, Feed .. .. .	15
Barley .. .. .	18
Poland .. .. .	16
Finest .. .. .	17
Potato .. .. .	17
Peas, Hog .. .. .	26

GENERAL AVERAGE PRICE OF GRAIN.	
WEEK ENDING FEB. 1.	
Imperial General Weekly Average.	
Wheat .. .. .	37s. 10d.
Barley .. .. .	22 9
Oats .. .. .	16 7
Beans .. .. .	25 11
Peas .. .. .	26 4
Aggregate Average of the Six Weeks.	
Wheat .. .. .	38s. 2d.
Barley .. .. .	22 11
Oats .. .. .	16 9

FLOUR.	
Town-made .. .. .	per sack 46s. to 48s.
Seconds .. .. .	37
Essex and Suffolk, on board ship .. .. .	33
Norfolk and Stockton .. .. .	30
American .. .. .	per barrel 21
Canadian .. .. .	21
Wheaten Bread, 7d. the 4lb. loaf. Households, 6d.	

BUTCHERS' MEAT.	
NEWGATE AND LEADENHALL.	
s. d.	
Beef .. .. .	2 4 to 3 0
Mutton .. .. .	3 8 to 4 0
Veal .. .. .	3 0 to 4 0
Pork .. .. .	2 6 to 3 0
* To sink the offal, per 8lb.	
SMITHFIELD.	
s. d.	
Beef .. .. .	2 4 to 3 0
Mutton .. .. .	3 8 to 4 0
Veal .. .. .	3 0 to 4 0
Pork .. .. .	2 6 to 3 0

HEAD OF CATTLE AT SMITHFIELD.	
Friday.	
Beasts .. .. .	601
Sheep .. .. .	370
Calves .. .. .	244
Pigs .. .. .	330
HOPS.	
Kent Pockets .. .. .	70s. to 84s.
Choice ditto .. .. .	80 to 150
Sussex ditto .. .. .	65 to 76
Farnham do. .. .. .	80 to 120
POTATOES.	
York Regents per ton .. .. .	85s. to 100
Wishoe Regents .. .. .	70 to 80
Scotch Reds .. .. .	70 to 80
French Whites .. .. .	65 to 75
HAY AND STRAW. (Per load of 36 Trusses.)	
CUMBERLAND, SMITHFIELD, WHITECHAPEL.	
Hay, Good .. .. .	75s. to 80s.
Inferior .. .. .	50 to 68
New .. .. .	0 to 0
Clover .. .. .	78 to 84
Wheat Straw .. .. .	24 to 28

### FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE.

Tuesday, Feb. 3.  
DECLARATIONS OF DIVIDENDS.—J. Steele, Plough-bred, Deptford, tar manufacturer; first div. of 4s. 7d., on Wednesday; Mr. Whitmore, Basinghall-street—J. Turner, Eastbourne, Sussex, draper; first div. of 4s. 3d., on Saturday next, and three subsequent Saturdays; Mr. Groom, Abchurch-lane—J. and J. Cowlishaw, Derby, railway carriage builders; first div. of 2s. 6d., on the separate estate of John Cowlishaw; and a div. of 2s. 8d., on the separate estate of James Cowlishaw; on Saturday, Feb. 15, or any subsequent alternate Saturday until Aug. 2; Mr. Bittleston, Nottingham—W. Bates, Tithby, Nottinghamshire, horse dealer; first div. of 10s. 4d., on Saturday, Feb. 15, or any subsequent alternate Saturday until Aug. 2; Mr. Bittleston, Nottingham—C. Pretty, Leicester, grocer; first div. of 3s., on Saturday, Feb. 15, or any subsequent alternate Saturday until Aug. 2; Mr. Bittleston, Nottingham—W. R. Cook, Burton-upon-Trent, tape manufacturer; second and final div. of 1s., on Saturday, Feb. 15, or any subsequent alternate Saturday until Aug. 2; Mr. Bittleston, Nottingham—W. and J. Fife, Monkwearmouth, shipbuilders; first div. of 17s. 10d., on the separate estate of W. Fife, on Saturday, Feb. 8, or any subsequent Saturday; Mr. Baker, Newcastle-upon-Tyne—J. Fielding, Middleton, Lancashire, cordwainer; final div. of 6s. 6d., on Tuesday, Feb. 4, and any subsequent Tuesday; Mr. Mackenzie, Manchester.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.—E. Armytage, Clifton-bridge, near Halifax, and Colne-bridge, near Huddersfield, cotton spinner. BANKRUPTS.—W. HOOD, Lawrence-lane, Cheap-side, commission agent, to surrender Feb. 14, March 18; solicitors, Messrs. Pain and Hatherly, Gresham-street and Great Marlborough-street; official assignee, Mr. Groom, Abchurch-lane—R. T. DUNNICK, Threadneedle-street, mining agent, Feb. 15, March 20; solicitors, Messrs. Sole and Turner, Aldermanbury; official assignee, Mr. Nicholson, Basinghall-street—A. Eves, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square, turner, Feb. 14, March 18; solicitor, Mr. Colombine, St. Martin's-lane; official assignee, Mr. Stanfield, C. WATT, Southampton-street, Pentonville, baker, Feb. 12, March 18; solicitor, Mr. Tweed, Lincoln's-inn-fields; official assignee, Mr. Stanfield.

DIVIDENDS.—Feb. 25, W. Carter, High-street, Southwark bootmaker—Feb. 25, W. F. Harris, Friday-street, Cheap-side,



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